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EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

The editors of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* devote this issue of the journal to the history of the Portuguese world as a part of the centennial celebrating Portugal's eight centuries of existence. They are happy to offer this widow's mite to correct past neglect of Portuguese America and, so far as it is within the province of history, to point to its future importance. It goes without saying that this issue would never have been undertaken had not the editors felt that the centenary celebrations offer a much coveted opportunity for thoroughly objective cultural coöperation. It is, therefore, a pleasure to acknowledge the active work of Dr. João de Bianchi, Portuguese Minister in Washington, on behalf of the *REVIEW*. Special thanks should also be extended to Dr. Roscoe R. Hill and Dr. Raul d'Eça of the National Advisory Committee of the Portuguese Double-Centennial in the United States.

In the planning of this number and in the actual work of editing the material the great bulk of the work has been cheerfully assumed and diligently carried out by Dr. Alan K. Manchester, a man who long ago anticipated the current shift to Portuguese-American history, language, and institutions.

PORTUGAL CELEBRATES EIGHT CENTURIES OF EXISTENCE, 1140-1940

The Portuguese have been intimately associated with the Americas from the period of discovery to the present. These associations have not been restricted to the southern continent alone; on the contrary they have included North America. An example of mutually beneficial relations between the United States and my country is given in the frontispiece of this periodical. It is quite fitting, therefore, that this great North American Republic should join us in celebrating the eight-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Portugal.

It is likewise a source of satisfaction to my country and to me that the editors have deemed it fitting to devote to the celebration a special number of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. Serious study of Portuguese America cannot be undertaken independent of the European background. It is a happy circumstance, therefore, which tends to emphasize this phase of Latin-American history.

The Portuguese belong to the Latin family of the Indo-European branch of the white race. They descend mainly from the Lusitanians, one of the tribes of the Celt-Iberos that inhabited the Peninsula. Lusitania, their habitat, was the territory limited in the south by the Tagus, in the east by the mountain ridge of the Herminios (now the Serra da Estrela), and in the west by the Atlantic Ocean. At the height of their power, the great peoples of the Mediterranean, such as the Phoenicians and Greeks, established themselves in the Peninsula and traded up the Atlantic coast until the Roman domination. A few years before the birth of Christ, Caius Julius Caesar was Roman praetor of Lusitania. This westmost part of Europe did not escape the fourth-century invasion of the various Vandal tribes who were ousted eventually by the Visigoths. The latter established themselves in the Peninsula for over two centuries, blending with the local inhabi-

tants, founding the first monarchies, promoting the Christian faith, and introducing principles of law adapted to local conditions. In the eighth century came the Moslem invasions of Arabs and Moors.

In the early twelfth century, Christian knights came over the Pyrenees to fight these infidels and among them a grandson of Robert, king of France. For his brave deeds he won the hand of the daughter of the king of León and was made Count of Portocale, a small locality on the estuary of the Douro river. His son Affonso Henriques in 1128 proclaimed the independence of Portocale and adjoining lands, and was, therefore, our first king. His authority was consolidated when in 1139 he defeated five Moorish kings at Ourique and the following year, in 1140, defeated the Castilians. This date is considered that of our national organization.

The kings that succeeded D. Affonso Henriques had to struggle to maintain the independence of Portugal from the neighboring and then more powerful kingdoms of León, Castile, and Aragón and to protect and extend the frontiers of the new realm by driving away the Moors. At the same time they were getting the population settled in orderly fashion, developing agriculture and learning. Even at this early age Portuguese literature flourished. The first university, now at Coimbra, was founded in 1290. At the same time, in order to get an international status, Portugal had, according to the requirements of the times, to obtain recognition by the Holy See. This she obtained in return for her deeds in expanding the Christian faith and for her rapid and orderly development in the face of many jealousies and much opposition from other courts.

Owing to the lack of a direct heir to the throne a crisis arose in 1385, and several foreign monarchs were pretenders to the Portuguese crown. With a spirit of liberalism almost unparalleled in those ages, the people elected their own king by choosing a Portuguese prince. He was D. João, Master of the Order of Aviz. Thus was started the illustrious dynasty that led to Portugal's world-wide expansion and glory, for D. João was the father of Prince Henry the Navigator.

The first great overseas venture, in this movement of ex-

pansion, was the conquest of the great and flourishing Moorish stronghold of Ceuta, which lay across the straits and was the Gibraltar of the time. The desire to propagate the Christian faith and to fight the infidel that prompted this expedition, and the craving for discovery that had already carried us to Madeira and the Açores islands, carried us farther and farther afield, and, in 1434, by doubling Cape Bojador on the coast of Africa, the fears and legends surrounding the sea were dispelled and the revered theories of Aristotle and Ptolemy were exploded. Thenceforth the confidence of mariners grew and their daring and deeds found no barriers. Sierra León was reached, the Cape of Good Hope doubled, and finally the sea route to India completed by Vasco da Gama in 1498. In forty-two years, between 1500 and 1542, the list of new lands discovered, visited, explored, or occupied is almost incredible: Brazil, St. Helena, Madagascar, Ceylon, Malacca and the Spice Islands of Sumatra, Java, Moluques, Borneo, and Timor, and even the coast of China and Japan. It includes the first voyage of circumnavigation of the globe by the Portuguese pilot Magellan and other Portuguese sailors.

These enterprises led to the substitution of Lisbon for Venice as the trading center of Europe, to the colonization of Brazil, and to the creation of the first Indian Empire under Portuguese rule. They meant fighting repeatedly the Moors of Mecca, the Turks, the Levantines, and many savage tribes; and they meant facing unknown perils and devastating diseases.

In 1580, again for the lack of a direct heir, another crisis overtook the Portuguese throne and for dynastic reasons the crown went to Philip II of Spain. For sixty years Spain dominated Portugal and to this event she greatly owed the world-wide influence she exercised. But in 1640 the Portuguese shook off the Spanish shackles and again, as in 1385, chose their own king, a Portuguese nobleman, the eighth Duke of Bragança, whose daughter Katherine became queen of England as consort of Charles II.

Portugal soon recovered from the imposed depression, and during many decades of the eighteenth century, especially

under João V, the Louis XIV of Portugal, wealth, the arts, commerce, industries, and learning attained the highest levels.

Portugal did not escape the Napoleonic invasions, but it may be said that it was in Portugal that the turning of the tide started. Nevertheless the royal family was forced to migrate to Brazil, establishing the capital at Rio de Janeiro. In 1822 Brazil proclaimed her own independence, which was peacefully accepted by the Portuguese government. As a matter of fact, Portugal gave Brazil her first ruler, in the person of the eldest son of the king, the Emperor D. Pedro I.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, when European political institutions were going through a period of transformation from the absolute to the liberal form, Portugal, which in 1822 adopted a liberal constitution, like many other countries, had to undergo the throes of internal political strife. The second half of the last century was largely influenced by colonial aspirations and empire-building policies in which the great powers of Europe indulged. The Conference of Berlin of 1884 settled many of these problems; yet, towards the end of the century, Portugal felt the repercussion of the ambitions of European powers and financial difficulties set in. In 1910 the Republic was proclaimed, but the World War of 1914-1918 played havoc with the work of reconstruction. Portugal fought on the side of the Allies in Europe and Africa, and on the sea. Soon thereafter the general depression knocked at our door.

The instability of party politics in the after-war morass was followed by a new political experiment which resulted when the armed forces of the nation took over the administration on May 28, 1926. It was not long before the military leaders in control realized that the absence of civilian elements in the government made it difficult to carry on the proper functions of the various departments. As many of the more experienced men had party allegiances, several relatively young university professors of law, finance, economics, and engineering, were gradually induced to join the government, while, at the same time, the army and navy maintained order and enabled a dictatorial cabinet to carry on the necessary reforms without interference.

It was at this stage that Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, reluctantly, first tried his hand at public affairs. As minister of finance he soon began to put the house in order. Scorning financial supervision by the League of Nations as the price of a loan of some sixty million dollars, Salazar led the country to trust in its own resources and to work out its own rehabilitation. The result has been twelve years of balanced budgets, stable currency, the wiping out of the floating debt, a marked reduction of the public debt, and by a recent conversion the extinguishing of all foreign debts of the country. In the commercial field trade is not hampered by quotas or strangled by exchange restrictions; it remains free and credits are not frozen.

The political machinery has been overhauled and a new constitution, based on corporative principles, has been in operation for several years. It is not of the totalitarian type. According to Portuguese principles the family is the first corporation of the nation and the state the last. The state is called upon by all corporations to exercise a balancing and directive influence; this is also true in the establishing of co-operation between employers and labor through their respective corporations. The National Assembly is made up of two chambers, one legislative and the other consultative. The latter is the corporate chamber where all national activities are represented and its functions are to study and report on all proposed legislation.

Great public works have been undertaken such as roads, harbors, bridges, restoration of national palaces, castles, churches and other monuments. New construction in all the larger cities has been very considerable.

Besides many material achievements, Dr. Salazar has paid much attention to the spiritual upbuilding of the people with two basic principles: the family and Christian doctrine.

General Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, one of the original leaders of the movement, has been elected and re-elected, by direct suffrage, president of the Republic since 1928. His personal visits to our colonial possessions are proof of the interest of the government in the development of our world-wide empire.

Portugal thus approaches with renewed faith in its future the ceremonies commemorative of its origin eight hundred years ago. It welcomes those who will share in the celebration. Through me it extends happy appreciation of this special issue of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

JOÃO DE BIANCHI,
Minister of Portugal

Washington, D. C.

VASCO DA GAMA—FIRST COUNT OF VIDIGUEIRA

Vasco da Gama symbolizes in his personality and in his adventurous life the highest achievement of the Portuguese nation. No other people has had so clear-cut and so easily discernible a climax to its national history. The act of Vasco da Gama in linking the destinies of Occident and Orient is unique, incapable of duplication. Contemporaries instantly and instinctively recognized its importance.¹ After more than four centuries, we realize even better than they did how vital was that communication which once opened could never be closed again.

Outside Portugal, most historians have been content to record a great discovery, leaving the discoverer almost unnoticed. There is unconscious justice in this neglect, because Vasco da Gama's voyage is the epic of a nation; it truly deserves to be called *Os Lusíadas*. Columbus and Magellan were brilliant individualists whose triumphs were personal in a sense that Gama's could not be. Sovereigns other than Isabella and Ferdinand might have backed Columbus; Magellan could have made his voyage under other than Spanish auspices. King Manoel in 1497 might have chosen someone else to command his vessels; that is the difference. Vasco da Gama stepped aboard the *São Gabriel* after the preparation was made, the fleet manned, the route determined in all but a few details. Nothing had been left to chance that care and foresight could insure. Yet the responsibility was all the heavier for the national hopes and resources that had been lavished on the enterprise. Vasco da Gama shouldered a great burden, well knowing that his destiny hung in a delicate balance, and no commonplace man could have conducted himself so valiantly. Manoel, whom history has somewhat

¹ A few carping attempts were made to belittle the difficulty of the voyage, as when Amerigo Vespucci wrote, "Tal viaggio, chome quello non chiamo io dischoprire, ma andare pel dischoperto, perche chome vederete per la figure, la navigazione e di chontinova a vista di tere" (*Letter to Pier Francesco de' Medici*, July 18, 1500).

maligned with the title "O Venturoso," or merely fortunate, never chose more fortunately than in selecting this supreme commander.²

Two anniversaries celebrated in recent times have inspired a certain amount of Vasco da Gama literature. The years 1897-1899 marked the fourth centenary of the voyage to India. Most of the contributions made on this occasion were of the commemorative, oratorical kind, consisting chiefly of addresses and communications by members of learned societies.³ Two works, however, were outstanding; E. G. Ravenstein's superb English translation and edition of the anonymous *Roteiro*, or journal of the first voyage,⁴ and a study by Franz Hümmerich, considered by Portuguese critics to be the finest analysis yet made of Vasco da Gama.⁵ The second group of writings centered about the year 1924, the four-hundredth anniversary of the explorer's death. This was again mainly of the typical centenary variety,⁶ though Hümmerich's additional study of the *Roteiro* displayed the highest scholarship,⁷ and a monograph by the French Arabist, Gabriel Ferrand,

² For vindication of Manoel's ability as a sovereign, see Luciano Cordeiro, "O premio da descoberta," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geographia de Lisboa*, XVI (1897), 247-389.

³ Examples are Victor Levy, "Les découvertes de Gama et la colonisation portugaise," reprinted in *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, XVI, 191-202; Wilhelm Tomaschek, "A viagem de Vasco da Gama," *ibid.*, XVI, 551-559; Emile Ceulmans, "Les découvertes maritimes des portugais et le premier voyage de Vasco da Gama aux Indes," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Anvers*, XXII (1898), 307-328; Paul Gaffarel, "Vasco da Gama," *Revue de Géographie*, XXXXII (1898), 161-179; "The Fourth Centenary of Vasco da Gama's Voyage to India," *The Geographical Journal*, XII (1898), 10-12; and Richard S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India* (Westminster, 1899). Somewhat better is H. Reade, "Vasco da Gama," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1898*, pp. 589-604.

⁴ *The Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1898).

⁵ *Vasco da Gama und die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Ostindien* (München, 1898). Also good is Hümmerich's *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur ersten Indienfahrt des Vasco da Gama* (München, 1897).

⁶ A complete bibliography of works on Gama from 1912 to 1935 is found in *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, VII, iv (1935), 399-401.

⁷ "Studien zum 'Roteiro' der Entdeckungsfahrt Vascos da Gama, 1497-1499," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, X (1927), 53-302. This was written several years before its publication, which was impossible in Germany.

approached the subject from a new angle.⁸ Nearly all the works dealt with the public phases of the explorer's career, which emphasizes the fact that for years there has been no attempt at a true biography of Vasco da Gama. The last effort, by Latino Coelho, is long out of date,⁹ and Teixeira de Aragão's *Vasco da Gama e a Vidigueira*, while partly biographical, is mainly a résumé of Gama's relations with the town of Vidigueira, of which he became count and proprietor.¹⁰ K. G. Jayne furnishes the best English summary of Portuguese conquests in the East, but passes briefly over the life of the pioneer explorer.¹¹ The reluctance of biographers to deal with this important historical character is due both to the failure of his earliest historians to provide him with a personality and to lack of details regarding his youth, so necessary to an adequate biography. More material is published than has ever been used, but the process of extracting it is tedious. It is unlikely that further research will add much that is new.

Any serious investigation of the career of Vasco da Gama must begin with the fifteenth-century literary historians. The basic works are those of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, João de Barros, Damião de Góis, and Gaspar Corrêa. In the treatment of the historic first voyage, the central event of Gama's life, preference must be awarded Castanheda, because the historian visited India himself and because he relies on the *Roteiro*, though where he departs from his guide he occasionally falls into error.¹² Barros, in matters other than the details of this expedition, is the stronger of the two, and is particularly valuable for the preceding Portuguese discoveries. He gives the only adequate account of the Bartolomeu Dias voyage, a knowledge of which is indispensable to an understanding of Gama's.¹³ Góis, the renowned diplomatist

⁸ "Le pilote arabe de Vasco da Gama et les instructions nautiques des arabes au xv^e siècle," *Annales de Géographie*, XXXI (1922), 289-307.

⁹ *Vasco da Gama* (Lisboa, 1882), 2 vols.

¹⁰ *Vasco da Gama e a Vidigueira* (Lisboa, 1898). An earlier and less documented edition appeared in *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, VII (1886), 543-701.

¹¹ *Vasco da Gama and his Successors* (London, 1910).

¹² *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, I (Lisboa, 1833).

¹³ *Da Ásia*, I (Lisboa, 1778). The Dias voyage is covered in pp. 184-192.

and humanist, writes to describe Manoel's reign, with chief emphasis on the domestic and European side. His description of the Vasco da Gama discovery is shorter than the others and contains few details not available elsewhere.¹⁴ Although he shares with Barros the handicap of never having sailed to India, Góis supplies a perspective absent from the other works. Corrêa is the least accurate of the four in dealing with the first voyage, though the latter portions of his narrative are valuable.¹⁵ He seems to have written without notes and to have possessed a poor memory. He commits such blunders as to cause the present writer to share the opinion of Luciano Pereira da Silva that Corrêa has confused important details of the first expedition with that of Bartolomeu Dias, who preceded Gama by a full decade.¹⁶

Several works on travel and geographical subjects are necessary to a thorough understanding of the expeditions.

¹⁴ *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Manuel*, I-II (Lisboa, 1909).

¹⁵ *Lendas da Índia*, I (Lisboa, 1858). The sections of Corrêa's work dealing specifically with the voyages are translated and edited by Henry E. J. Stanley, *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1869).

¹⁶ "O Roteiro da primeira viagem do Gama e a suposta conjuração," *O Instituto*, LXXII (1925), 184-216. Corrêa does not mention Dias by name but records a shadowy impression of his voyage, assigning it to Janifante, who was João Infante, Dias' second in command. According to Corrêa, Janifante does not round the Cape of Good Hope because "... indo pera o mar achaua os mares tão grandes que os não podia nauegar com as carauelas. . ." (*Lendas*, I, 8). This is in the face of the united testimonies of Barros, Duarte Pacheco, and Christopher Columbus. Corrêa further has Gama being blown around the Cape without sighting it (*ibid.*, I, 18), contrary to the *Roteiro* which reports the Cape as rounded fairly easily. Only on Gama's return (*ibid.*, I, 135) does Corrêa have the Cape sighted. This is almost the experience of Dias (Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 187) who is blown from a point near *Angra das Voltas* (Lüderitzbucht) and strikes land at *Angra dos Vaqueiros* (Mossell Bay). On his return (*ibid.*, I, 190) Dias rounds the Cape which he calls *Tormentoso*, only to have the name changed to *Boa Esperança* by King João. It will be seen that Dias has dropped somehow out of Corrêa's story and that his experiences have been transferred to Gama. An attempt to give Dias a predecessor in rounding Good Hope is made by Eugène Déprez in "Les portugais et le périple d'Afrique en 1484 avant Dias," *Résumés des communications présentées au Congrès de Varsovie, 7e. Congrès International des Sciences Historiques*, II (1933), 283. R. Hennig corrects the obvious misinterpretation which Déprez has made of the evidence in "Politische Ziele im Lebenswerk Prinz Heinrich des Seefahrers," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLX (1939), 303-304, and at greater length in *Terrae Incognitae. Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen*, IV (Leiden, 1939), 337-341.

Duarte Pacheco Pereira, celebrated cosmographer, pilot, and soldier, knew Gama well, and his *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, a description of all the coastlines known in the Eastern hemisphere in 1505, illustrates the voyages.¹⁷ Ludovico de Varthema, an Italian traveller, went by way of Arabia and Persia to India, where he visited Goa, Cananor, and Calicut, a little after the first expedition. Of particular interest is his long and excellent description of Calicut, Vasco da Gama's goal in 1498, which he saw just before the city was battered into insignificance by Lopo Soares in 1505.¹⁸ Francisco Álvares, a Portuguese priest, accompanied a diplomatic mission from India to Ethiopia in 1520. There he found the almost forgotten Portuguese traveller and spy, Pedro de Covilhan, whom João II had despatched to reconnoiter the Oriental regions in 1487. Covilhan never returned to Portugal, but a letter from him reached the king, and Vasco da Gama used the information it contained in seeking Calicut. Since the letter is lost we have only the verbal report of Covilhan, transmitted by Álvares, regarding its contents. This reveals the extent to which the Gama expedition must have been planned in advance, and particularly why it entered the Indian Ocean with Calicut as its specific destination.¹⁹

Various writings by participants in the voyages are important. For the first one our anonymous *Roteiro* is invaluable. It is the work of someone of intelligence, though of modest literary attainments, who was aboard the *São Raphael*, and whose identity, though not certain, is suspected. He either wrote the *Roteiro* as the voyage progressed or made copious notes which he later transcribed. Probably no other great

¹⁷ Edited by Raphael de Azevedo Basto (Lisboa, 1892); also by Augusto Epiphânio da Silva Dias (Lisboa, 1905). Translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society by G. H. Kimble (LXXIX, 1936). Also valuable is Gabriel Pereira, *Roteiros portugueses da viagem de Lisboa á Índia nos séculos xvi e xvii* (Lisboa, 1898).

¹⁸ George P. Badger, *The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1863). See also R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1857). The most important narrative in Major's collection is that of Nicolò Conti, who describes Calicut some sixty years before Gama's time.

¹⁹ Francisco Álvares, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias pelo Padre Francisco Álvares* (Lisboa, 1889). Chapter ciii deals with Covilhan. Also, Conde de Ficalho, *Viagens de Pedro de Covilhan* (Lisboa, 1898).

exploit of discovery has left so good a first-hand narrative.²⁰ For the second voyage we have four briefer contributions by participants to supplement the chroniclers.²¹ For the third and last one the often-erroneous Gaspar Corrêa becomes our best source, since accounts by eye-witnesses are lacking.²² This is neither surprising nor particularly regrettable, since by that time sailings to India had become common and had lost all novelty.

Only one such document by Vasco da Gama himself exists. It has value, however, for it is the directions which the discoverer prepared in 1500 for Pedro Álvares Cabral, who was to make the next voyage to India. Since this embodies the experience gained on the first expedition, it reveals the Admiral's ideas as to how future navigation of the South Atlantic should progress.²³

The early historians concerned themselves little with the life of Vasco da Gama in Portugal. Their few references, plus a handful of documents,²⁴ comprise all that is known of

²⁰ The full title is *Roteiro de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII*. There are two Portuguese editions; the earlier by Diogo Kopke and Antonio da Costa Paiva (Pôrto, 1838); the second, which is the one occasionally cited in this study, by Alexandre Herculano and Baron do Castello de Paiva (Lisboa, 1861). Besides Ravenstein's English translation, there is a German version by Hümmerich (*Vasco da Gama . . . nach Ostindien*, pp. 149-191), and a French translation by A. Morelet, *Journal du voyage de Vasco da Gama en 1497* (Lyon, 1864).

²¹ (a) Thomé Lopes, "Navegação ás Indias Orientaes escrita por Thomé Lopes," *Collecção de noticias para a historia e geographia das nações ultramarinas*, II (Lisboa, 1867), 157-217. (b) *Calcoen. A Dutch Narrative of the Second Voyage of Vasco da Gama* (London, 1874), Dutch and English texts, J. P. Berjeau tr. and ed. (c) Prospero Peragallo, "Viaggio di Matteo da Bergamo in India sulla flotta di Vasco da Gama, 1502-1503," *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana*, XXXIX (1902), 92-109. Peragallo prints two letters of Matteo da Bergamo, both written at Mozambique during the return. The two are practically identical in content. (d) Some new Portuguese documents from the Vienna Archives, published, but not obtainable for this study.

²² Corrêa arrived in India in 1514, and wrote reliably of events occurring after that date.

²³ Printed, with facsimile, in *Historia da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, I (Pôrto, 1921), xvi-xix. Two English translations have recently appeared: Samuel E. Morison, "Sailing Instructions of Vasco da Gama to Pedro Álvares Cabral, 1500," *The Mariner's Mirror*, XXIV (1938), pp. 402-408; and William B. Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India* (London, Hakluyt Society, 1938), pp. 167-169.

²⁴ Mostly published by Teixeira de Aragão, *op. cit.*, appendix.

him prior to 1497, and the long gap of twenty-one years between the second and third voyages cannot be adequately filled. The explorer married Catarina d'Atayde, probably sometime between 1499 and 1502, but the date is uncertain. We know the names of his sons but cannot say when they were born. Enough documents exist to enable us to sketch the outlines of Vasco da Gama's career between 1503 and 1524, but the record is sparse.²⁵ Since even this meager result represents the abundant researches of Portuguese scholars, the outlook for future documentary discoveries is not bright.²⁶

A few stray Arabic writings complete our list. Those encountered up to now add but slightly to our previous knowledge and in no way reshape our picture of the events. They display toward the Portuguese the spiteful wrath with which the former masters of the Indian Ocean would naturally regard their supplanters.²⁷ No Hindu sources have come to light, and the probability is that none exists.

Contemporary maps furnish little to illustrate the Gama discoveries. The first voyage was less important for the cartography of the West African coast than were those of Diogo Cão and Bartolomeu Dias, for it did not touch that coast until reaching St. Helena Bay. Heading northward from Natal, Gama was often far from shore, so he missed Sofala and Kilwa but touched at Mozambique, Kilimane (the Bons Sinaes of the *Roteiro*), Mombasa, and Malindi. Madagascar was left for Cabral to discover, in fact no Indian Ocean islands were visited until the fleet reached Anjediva.

²⁵ Published largely by Luciano Cordeiro, *op. cit.*, and also in his "De como e quando foi feito conde Vasco da Gama," *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, XI (1892), 253-303. A few appear in *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas* (Lisboa, 1892).

²⁶ In 1936, Senhor Antonio Baião, director of the Torre do Tombo Archives in Lisbon, in a letter to the present writer, stated that there was little chance of important documentary discoveries in the future concerning Vasco da Gama.

²⁷ Notably S. Arthur Strong, "The History of Kilwa," edited from an Arabic manuscript, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1895*, pp. 385-430. Strong prints the Arabic but does not translate it all. Kilwa is the "Quiloa" of the Portuguese historians and is situated near Malindi in the present Tanganyika territory. The Arab writer mentions the voyages of Gama, Cabral, and João de Nova. There is also the manuscript *Al-bark al-Yamâni*, studied by Ferrand.

Cartographically the most important result of the voyage was a correction of Ptolemy's Hindustan, which such recent map-makers as Martin Behaim and Henricus Martellus had accepted. The first world map to appear after Gama's return, that of Juan de la Cosa (1500), shows the Ptolemaic tradition still in force. However, the Cantino and Canerio maps of 1502, both Portuguese, have the proper alterations for Hindustan, though foreign geographers for years occasionally reverted to the short peninsula of Ptolemy.²⁸

While *Os Lusíadas* of Luiz Vaz de Camões are not a source in the conventional sense, they should be constantly beside the student of Gama. The latter owes his fame largely to Camões, who is alone among epic writers in having chosen a subject recent in point of time, the history of which he knew intimately. Camões, who was the most learned man ever to compose an epic, appreciated the historic importance of the voyage of the *Lusitanians* better perhaps than did any of his contemporaries. He understood Gama's character well, and despite his generally fulsome praise was not blind to the faults of the *Capitão Mór*. He had himself made the journey that his heroes made, and knew the lands, the seas, and the peoples encountered. He painted with vivid poetic colors the scenes which the Portuguese pioneers beheld. He belongs to the discovery of India as truly as do the seamen, and should be read for the atmosphere he imparts, to say nothing of the intrinsic merits of his verse.²⁹

Although each of the three voyages is important, interest naturally focusses on the first. A number of controversial

²⁸ Such as Martin Waldseemüller (1507) in his version of the Ptolemy map, the anonymous Italian cartographer (British Museum, Edgerton codex, 2803, later than 1500), Bernardo Silvano (1511), and Pietro Apiano (1520).

²⁹ Of the many Portuguese editions of Camões, that of the Visconde de Juromenha (*Obras de Luiz Vaz de Camões*, 7 vols., Lisboa, 1860-1870, especially vol. VI) is recommended. Of the English translators, the present writer would record a preference for that of Richard Burton (*The Lusíads*, London, 1880, 2 vols.), a preference which Burton himself was not too modest to share. See his remarks about previous translators in *Camões, his Life and his Lusíads* (London, 1881), I, 116-194. Both Juromenha and Burton include the rejected stanzas. For an interesting evaluation of Camões' erudition, see Luciano Pereira da Silva, "A astronomia dos Lusíadas," *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, seven instalments from Vol. II (1913) to Vol. IV (1915). Also published as a volume, same title (Coimbra, 1915).

points exist concerning it; such as the route followed from Portugal to the Cape Verde Islands; the reason why Gama or his pilots decided to sail in mid-Atlantic until almost abreast of the Cape of Good Hope; the identity and skill of the Gujerati navigator, Malemo Cana, or Canaqua, who piloted the fleet from Malindi to Calicut; the date of Vasco da Gama's return to Lisbon; and finally the authorship of the *Roteiro*.

The question of the route to the Cape Verdes is of minor importance because it relates to waters then familiar and often traversed. The possibilities of divergent opinions arise from passages by Camões which seem opposed to the less explicit statements in the *Roteiro*. These differences recently have been exploited at length by Admiral Gago Coutinho and Dr. José Maria Rodrigues.³⁰

For the second problem, it is not necessary to conjecture as some do that Gama avoided the African coast and described a great semi-circle in his mid-Atlantic route to the Cape because clandestine Portuguese voyages in those waters had preceded his. Cão and Dias had followed the land and had made slow progress southward because of the currents. Since now the object was to waste no time and to round the Cape quickly, there was every reason to try a new route. Dias' advice was available and Pero d'Alenquer, pilot of the former expedition, was aboard the *Capitão Mór's* flagship. The voyage to St. Helena Bay, whatever the plan, was a superb feat of navigation, since the Portuguese knew almost exactly where they were on striking land a few leagues above the Cape.³¹

³⁰ The views of Gago Coutinho (Portugal's first trans-Atlantic flyer) are found in the newspaper *O Seculo*, Dec. 7, 1928, and "O roteiro de Vasco da Gama e a sua versão nos Lusiadas," *Anais do Club Militar Naval*, Nov.-Dec., 1929, and Jan.-Feb., 1930, as well as in two sessions of the Academia das Ciências, Nov. 15 and Dec. 6, 1928. José Maria Rodrigues writes, "A dupla rota de Vasco da Gama em «Os Lusiadas», V, 4-13, e as objecções do Sr. Almirante Gago Coutinho," three instalments in *Biblos*, V (1929), and "Ainda a dupla rota de Vasco da Gama em «Os Lusiadas», V, 4-13, e as argumentações do Sr. Almirante Gago Coutinho," three instalments, *ibid.*, VI (1930).

³¹ " . . . nos partimos desta terra huuma quinta feira pella manham, que era vi dias de Novembro, nom sabendo nos quanto eramos do cabo de Boa Esperança, salvo Pero d'Alanquer dizia que ao mais que podiamos ser seriam trinta legoas a ree do cabo . . ." (*Roteiro*, p. 8). Pero d'Alenquer was substantially correct.

Once in the Indian Ocean, the explorers were in an unknown world. They groped with difficulty up the East African coast as far as Malindi. The instructions of Covilhan alone would not have sufficed for getting them to Calicut. They were lucky, therefore, to secure the services of a Moslem pilot, called Malemo Cana by Barros and Canaqua by Castanheda.³² Ferrand believes he has identified this man as one Ahmad bin Mâdjid, well known in the Moslem world for his skill. The identification comes from a manuscript, *Al-bark al-Yamânî*, by Kutb ad-din, which mentions Ahmad and confirms his connection with the "Franks." A fantastic story of how the *Almi-landi* (Arabic rendition of "Almirante") made Ahmad bin Mâdjid very drunk and thus discovered his navigation secrets is classed by Ferrand as "un pieux mensonge destiné à excuser un acte que les Musulmans devaient considérer comme une trahison."³³ The Oriental pilot showed no surprise at the European navigation instruments, indicating that his own were as good.³⁴ Speculations as to the methods used by Ahmad in piloting are somewhat unreliable.³⁵

The date of Vasco da Gama's return to Lisbon is uncertain. The *Roteiro* abruptly stops with the fleet homeward bound in the Atlantic, and the author appears to have disembarked at Sierra Leone and to have reached Portugal several years later.³⁶ According to Barros, the *Capitão Mór* sent the *São Gabriel* home from the Cape Verdes in charge of João de Sa, and chartered a fast caravel at São Tiago to convey his ailing brother, Paulo, to the healthier climate of the Azores. This gallant gesture was in vain, for Paulo died at Terceira.³⁷ Vasco thus reached Lisbon somewhat after the main party and there is divergence among writers as to the date.³⁸

³² Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 319; Castanheda, *op. cit.*, I, 41. "Malemo" is the Arabic "mu'allim," meaning shipmaster. "Canaqua," or "Kanaka," is the Sanscrit "Ganika," or astrologer.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁴ Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 320.

³⁵ Such as E. A. D'Albertis, "Della balestriglia e dell' istrumento astronomico adoperato dal piloto indiano Malemo Canà nel primo viaggio alle Indie fatto da Vasco da Gama," *Atti del Primo Congresso Italiano di Geografia*, II, i, 368-372.

³⁶ This is the opinion of Hümmerich. See also Pereira da Silva, "O Roteiro," *Instituto*, LXXII, 188-193.

³⁷ Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 370.

³⁸ Barros and Góis say August 29; Corrêa says September 18; Castanheda September without specifying the day.

An attempt to discover the author of the *Roteiro* requires a complete muster list of the crews,³⁹ a determination of the ship in which the writer sailed, an elimination of all those who could not have written it, and a careful differentiation of the scenes which the narrator witnessed from those which he described at second hand. Diogo Kopke, who first edited the *Roteiro*, Ravenstein, and Hümmerich all consider one Alvaro Velho to have been the author, and this opinion seems worthy of general acceptance.⁴⁰

While Vasco da Gama made one of the greatest of oceanic discoveries, he was not a seaman by profession. Though we lack data regarding his early years, and even though his birth-date is uncertain, we know that his family belonged to the lesser nobility or gentry.⁴¹ Men of this class did not ordinarily follow the sea, and there is but one reference to connect Vasco da Gama with maritime activities before 1497.⁴² The only interest he seemed to display in voyages between his own second and third expeditions resulted from his private investments in India trade.⁴³ It would be wrong, however, to suppose that he received his commission by either chance or luck. The discovery had been planned before the death of João II. The letter of Covilhan, written from Cairo about

³⁹ Ravenstein gives a complete list (*op. cit.*, appendix).

⁴⁰ Frederico Diniz de Ayalla, *Vasco da Gama, quando partiu?* (Alenquer, 1898), attempts to discredit the *Roteiro* and to prove it a late sixteenth-century forgery. Pereira da Silva, "O «Roteiro»," *Instituto*, LXXII, 187, 193-197, convincingly demolishes Ayalla's weak arguments.

⁴¹ He was born at Sines, his father being Estevão da Gama and his mother Isabel de Sodrê. The historians are ignorant of his exact age, and the documents give no clues. The date of birth meeting with most general acceptance is 1460. Gois (*op. cit.*, I, 65) says he was "homem solteiro e de idade pera poder sofrer os trabalhos de huma tal viagem," an ambiguous statement.

⁴² Garcia de Resende, *Chronica de El-Rei D. João II* (Lisboa, 1902), II, 140. Resende mentions an expedition which Gama commanded against French raiders of Portuguese commerce in 1492.

⁴³ The crown conceded Gama special privileges for engaging in private trade with the East, immunity from freights and customs duties, and permission to send his own private trading agent with every royal fleet to India, excepting only those articles that were a crown monopoly. Cordeiro, "O premio da descoberta," *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, XVI, 247-389, prints the documents in an appendix, "Uma certidão da Casa da India." At the time of Gama's appointment as viceroy, João III gave him added privileges (Stanley, *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, appendix, vii).

1491, and borne back to Portugal by a Jew, Josef of Lamego, was being studied with an eye to the future voyage. Bartolomeu Dias was at work superintending the construction of new ships to convey the next discoverers.⁴⁴ Dias was evidently not considered as a possible commander. He was a brave and skillful seaman, but someone of suitable rank must represent the Portuguese sovereign before the ruler of Calicut. The navigation would be in the hands of João de Coimbra, Pero Escolar, and Pero d'Alenquer, especially the latter who was the best Portuguese pilot of the time.⁴⁵ This was a conventional arrangement, to be repeated three years later in the case of Cabral, who, though even more of a landlubber than Gama, was considered a suitable *Capitão Mór*. Barros and Góis say that King João had destined Estevão da Gama, Vasco's father, for the command but that he died about the time the king did.⁴⁶ Assuming that Vasco inherited the expedition, we still face the fact that two elder brothers, Paulo and Ayres, were available, which presumably means that he was of acknowledged superior ability. Castanheda is alone in saying that the command was offered first to Paulo, who refused it on the grounds of ill-health and offered to serve under his brother, who accepted the appointment.⁴⁷ Evidently Vasco had been selected by December, 1495, because there exists a document of that date, bestowing an estate on him in consideration of past services and "those it is hoped he will perform."⁴⁸

The leader of the first expedition to India was not being

⁴⁴ Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 270.

⁴⁵ Pero d'Alenquer is mentioned through the *Roteiro* and by Barros, Castanheda, and Garcia de Resende. Concerning D'Alenquer, see Francisco Marques de Sousa Viterbo, "Trabalhos nauticos dos portuguezes nos seculos xvi e xvii," *Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa*, 2ª classe, VII (1898), 33-35; and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, *Apontamentos para o piloto Pero d'Alenquer* (Lisboa, 1898). There is an anecdote related of him by Resende, *op. cit.*, II, 144-145. A document from the chancellery of João II in 1483 grants D'Alenquer permission to wear fine clothes and a gold chain around his neck, but does not specify the services that are being acknowledged (Teixeira de Aragão, *op. cit.*, doc. 5, p. 214).

⁴⁶ Barros, *op. cit.*, I, 270; Góis, *op. cit.*, I, 66.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 6. Corrêa (*op. cit.*, I, 12-13) gives an utterly fantastic account of the appointment, having Manoel select Vasco on first sight.

⁴⁸ Teixeira de Aragão, *op. cit.*, doc. 7, p. 216. The donation is made by Dom Jorge, illegitimate son of the late king, obviously by arrangement with Manoel.

sent to prove a cosmographical theory like Columbus, but to follow instructions. Vasco da Gama was a man of facts. Nothing he did or said reveals any reading of Ptolemy, Pierre d'Ailly, or Marco Polo. His training had been that of a rural squire, not a geographer. As a cartographer, he might have made a passable portolan but never a mappemonde.⁴⁹ His general culture was mediocre. His literary style, as revealed in a few letters, if not worse than the average of his day, never rises above a monotonous level.⁵⁰ Camões gently chides the Gama family for their indifference to the muses and seems to include Vasco in the indictment.⁵¹ Had the Admiral been alive at the time *Os Lusíadas* were written, he might well have regarded them as did his descendant who is reported as saying, "We have the titles and don't want the praise."⁵² Vasco da Gama's ignorance was mostly the normal ignorance of his times, but a few examples are particularly interesting. At the time of his first voyage it would seem that he knew of but three religions: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism. He fancied himself in a Christian church when in a Brahmin temple at Calicut, despite the incongruities before his eyes.⁵³ He mis-

⁴⁹ A "portolan" was a sailing chart, compiled from practical experience, with emphasis solely on coastlines. A "mappemonde," or planisphere, was a world map, made partly from knowledge and partly from conjecture. Famous examples of the latter are those of Fra Mauro, 1459, and Henricus Martellus, 1489.

⁵⁰ Cordeiro, "De como e quando," *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, XI, prints a few Gama writings, pp. 285-286, 290-291. The oath of homage to King João III, taken prior to Gama's farewell voyage to India (*Alguns documentos*, p. 484), is much more elevated in style but is probably a stereotyped ritual. The instructions to Cabral do not count, as they were certainly compiled by a clerk from general remarks by Gama.

⁵¹ Let Gama thank the muses that their zeal
For Lusitania's honour bids them sound
His name, according to the just appeal
Of strenuous deeds that claim to be renown'd.
For neither they of Pindus' echoing hill
Nor Tejo's nymphs in Vasco's race have found
Such friends, that these should leave their grottos dim,
And woofs of golden twine to sing of him. *Os Lusíadas*, V, 99.

Quillinan's translation.

⁵² Burton, *Camoens*, I, 621, recites this tradition, which may be apocryphal but which reflects the known attitude of the later Gamas.

⁵³ "Aqui fez o capitam mor oraçam e nos outros com elle, . . . E outros muitos santos estavam pintados pellas parredes da igreja os quaes tinham dia-

took cries of "Krishna," uttered by Hindu devotees, for those of "Cristo."⁵⁴ He returned from India on the first occasion still believing that he had been among Christians at Malabar. The Hindus were perfectly aware of the religious difference, though of course the Arab merchants were their informants.

But if Vasco da Gama was weak on the side of erudition, his practical abilities more than balanced this defect. Ample evidence exists to show that he was a man capable of deeds of violence⁵⁵ and great cruelty,⁵⁶ yet nothing could have exceeded the patience with which he conducted himself amid the adverse conditions of Calicut. Again and again he faced the shiftily Zamorin and the latter's troublesome officials, always bearing himself with the utmost composure. His sovereign's name was unknown in India, his expedition presented a poverty-stricken appearance, and the goods he had brought for exchange were ill-chosen. Yet he deftly avoided friction, did not lose a man by violence, managed to avoid paying port dues, and finally returned to Europe, having gained, if not the diplomatic alliance he sought, at least all necessary information. Even the higher gifts of statesmanship may be claimed for him. It is all but forgotten that he initiated the practice, subsequently common among Europeans, of ruling portions of India through tributary princes. He did this in the city of Cochin on his second voyage.⁵⁷

Of his courage there can be no question. He was not the equal of Albuquerque as a warrior, but on a few occasions he struck with ruthless effectiveness. In his bombardment of

demoas, e a sua pintura hera em diversa maneira, porque os dentes eram tam grandes que sayám de boca huma polegada, e cada santo tinha quatro e cinco braços . . ." (*Roteiro*, pp. 56-57).

⁵⁴ "Aquelle dia que o capitam mor foy andar nos batés por junto de villa tiraram das naos dos christãos indios bombardas e alevantaram as mãos quando os viam pasar dizendo todos com muito alegria *Christe Christe*" (*ibid.*, p. 47).

⁵⁵ For example, in a nocturnal escapade at Setubal in 1492, he assaulted and wounded a royal official who questioned him (*Teixeira de Aragão, op. cit.*, doc. 6, p. 215).

⁵⁶ The acts of terrorism committed on the second expedition are well authenticated, such as the mass murder, accompanied by mutilation, of the crews of Malabar vessels before Calicut.

⁵⁷ Gama made the king of this city virtually a Portuguese puppet but did not dethrone him (*Corrêa, op. cit.*, I, 309-315).

Calicut in 1503 he gave Asia the first of the lessons it was to experience at the hands of Europe during the next four centuries. Either in overawing a native princelet or in chastening an unruly subordinate, he was the dauntless Admiral, worthy to rank with the greatest conquistadores of the Iberian peninsula. Whether or not there was a milder side to his nature is open to conjecture. The two or three humorous remarks attributed to him are grim ones, concerned with the cutting off of heads.⁵⁸ Yet the *Roteiro* surprises us with an account of how Vasco da Gama danced, in company with his seamen and the negroes, while engaged in a celebration on the beach at Mossell Bay in 1497.⁵⁹ Finally there is the act of fraternal devotion in attempting, at considerable personal sacrifice, to save the life of Paulo da Gama on the first return from India.

If Vasco da Gama's general culture was inferior it does not mean that he failed to understand the importance of his own work. In fact it might be said that he understood this too well and somewhat dimmed his own fame by insistence upon remuneration and honors.

He was no candidate for posthumous renown. What he wished was to be rich, to be a nobleman, and to possess an adequate landed jurisdiction, hereditary in his family. The financial rewards were quickly forthcoming, but the nobility and patrimony were withheld for years, due to obstacles that King Manoel regretted but could not easily overcome.⁶⁰ Vasco da Gama behaved so badly over this that the king might have been excused had he taken offense and permitted his haughty discoverer to go into exile when he threatened to do so.⁶¹ That Manoel did neither and instead showed extraordinary patience, finally giving the Admiral every reward he asked, is

⁵⁸ One example is given by Fortunato de Almeida, "Os ultimos dias de Vasco da Gama," *Instituto*, LXXII (1925), 37.

⁵⁹ "E o capitam moor mandou tanjer as trombetas, e nos em os batés bahavamos, e o capitam moor tambem de volta comnosco . . ." (*Roteiro*, p. 11).

⁶⁰ For the monies bestowed on Gama, see Cordeiro, "De como e quando," *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, XI, 264-267.

⁶¹ A letter from Manoel to Gama, August 17, 1518, mildly declines his request to be allowed to go into exile (*ibid.*, p. 289).

an adequate refutation of the charge of ingratitude so frequently brought against this underrated monarch.⁶²

Although Vasco da Gama often taxed the patience of his king, he continued to enjoy the royal favor until Manoel's death in 1521. Under João III this favor was continued, and it speaks well for the Admiral's ability that in 1524, when advanced in years, he was considered the logical man to remedy the bad state into which the Indian possessions had fallen. Since the death of Afonso d'Albuquerque in 1515, the eastern empire had suffered, largely because of the inferior men who had replaced the great pioneers. With Portuguese power in danger of collapse, with its enemies growing bolder as they saw their adversary weaken, King João selected Vasco da Gama as the one man whose ability and prestige might restore the prosperity of former days. On April 9, 1524, the Admiral, now viceroy, bade his last farewell to Portugal and sailed for India with great pomp and retinue, and during the brief time allotted him there behaved like an emperor.⁶³ When he died at Cochin, on Christmas Eve, 1524, he had scarcely begun the work of reforming Portuguese India.

Vasco da Gama's remains rested in the chapel of the Franciscan monastery at Cochin for a few years, but in 1538 they were removed to Portugal and deposited in the family vault at Vidigueira. There they probably still reside. Though in 1880 the body of the first Count of Vidigueira was sup-

⁶² Vasco da Gama made his first voyage as *Capitão Mor*. Before the second one, Manoel created for him the title *Almirante do Mar das Índias*, with permission to preface his name with *Dom* (*ibid.*, p. 266). On December 24, 1499, the king conceded him the town of Sines, his birthplace, with proprietary rights, but taking possession involved suits with the Order of Santiago, the previous proprietors (*ibid.*, p. 285). These difficulties dragged on until in 1518 Manoel bestowed Vidigueira, with the title *Conde* (*ibid.*, p. 289). Vasco had to purchase the rights of the king's cousin, Dom Jayme, Duke of Bragança and Guimarães, to Vidigueira, but the latter sold on easy terms. The act of taking possession on December 29, 1518, is attested by Vasco da Gama himself (*ibid.*, pp. 290-291) in a document which makes one of the few historical references to his wife, who is styled "a magnífica senhora dona catrina datayde almiranta." The last promotion was that by which João III, on February 5, 1524, made the Count-Admiral Viceroy of India (*ibid.*, pp. 302-303). Vasco da Gama, loaded with these titles, did homage to João, February 28, preparatory to departure for India (*Alguns documentos*, pp. 484-485).

⁶³ De Almeida, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-39.

posedly taken to Lisbon and laid in the Jeronimos, it was later found that an error in identification had been made which apparently was never rectified.⁶⁴

Portraits of Vasco da Gama are mostly spurious. The one that is most possibly a true likeness of the discoverer is an old painting that in the nineteenth century was owned by the Marquesses of Niza, descendants of his. It shows an elderly man with a full and whitened beard. He wears a beret and a cloak lined with fur, while from his neck hangs a cross suspended by a metal chain. The features are strong and harsh, entirely in character with the Vasco da Gama known to history.

It can be argued that Vasco da Gama was not an indispensable man; that the work he did would have been accomplished by his countrymen, with or without him. The partial truth of this assertion need not obscure the fact that he did discover India by sea at a highly significant moment in Portuguese and European history. It was a fast moving era, and a delay of a few years caused by the loss or failure of the expedition through incompetent leadership might have meant great differences in the course history was to run. There was a "Little Portugal" party at home opposed to overseas risks, and behind Portugal lay Europe, soon to compete in the field that King Manoel's subjects for a brief time only could hope to monopolize. But Portugal was ready to begin her great adventure, and the moment produced the man. When the period is recalled the name that instantly rises to mind, dwarfing all others, is that of Vasco da Gama. Today his countrymen do not regret their past. Memories of the few generations of power and leadership to which he pointed the way mean infinitely more than would the recollection of centuries of comfortable obscurity.

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⁶⁴ The correspondence concerning the removal of the supposed remains of Vasco da Gama is published by Teixeira de Aragão, *Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa*, VII (1886), 662-701.

THE COLLECTION OF THE FIFTHS IN BRAZIL, 1695-1709

By the year 1695, when mining in Minas Gerais may be said to have begun,¹ the collection of the Royal Fifths (*Quintos Reais*) in Brazil was centered in four smelting houses (*casas de fundição*) located in the towns of São Paulo, Paranaguá, Iguape, and Taubaté.² Furnished with the necessary instruments and ingredients to reduce gold nuggets or gold dust to bars, these agencies were under the superior control of the governor of Rio.³

With the exception of the one at Taubaté, which was created at the threshold of the eighteenth century for the convenience of miners from Minas Gerais,⁴ the Brazilian smelting houses had been established to receive gold produced in the original São Paulo area.⁵ Miners, or others in their stead,

¹ It is hardly necessary to point out that the present monograph concerns itself only with placer mining. For the earliest discoveries of gold in Minas Gerais *vide* João Pandiá Calogeras, *As Minas do Brasil e sua Legislação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1904-1905), I, 59-61.

² Artur de Sá e Meneses, governor of Rio, parenthetically mentions the number of such houses as being four in his letter to the king, May 1, 1700, in Arquivo Histórico Colonial de Lisboa (hereafter cited as A.H.C.), Doc. of Rio, No. 2359.

³ The control of mining in this part of Brazil was originally vested in an administrator (*administrador*) of the São Paulo mines. With the course of time, the office was assumed by the chancellor (*provedor*) of the Rio Exchequer (*Fazenda Real*), who in turn subsequently relinquished his authority over the mines to the governor of Rio. *Vide* Acta (*Consulta*) of the Overseas Council (*Conselho Ultramarino*), May 28, 1677, and October 16, 1692, in A.H.C., Codex 232, L^o 10 das Consultas do Rio, fol. 13 and 74, respectively.

⁴ *Vide* Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme, "Cópia da informação sobre as minas de S. Paulo e dos sertões da sua capitania desde o anno de 1597 até o presente 1772," in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, LXIV, Parte 1a, 65.

⁵ We refer to the areas generally known, in colonial times, as São Paulo and São Vicente. Gold was reported discovered in this section of the country as early as 1552. *Vide* letter of the Bishop of Baía to the king, July 12, 1552, published in *História da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* (Pôrto, 1921-1924), III, 363-364. Although they were more or less systematically exploited in the seventeenth century, the São Paulo-São Vicente placer gold mining fields were never of great importance.

were commanded by law to take their ore to any one of the above-mentioned smelters, where it was cast into bars. These bars were then weighed, numbered, their fineness ascertained and recorded, and, by means of a die, the official seals struck on their two principal sides.⁶ After deducting a fifth of their weight for the Crown—only later were the Fifths to be collected in auriferous dust—and registering the melted proceeds in proper books, a certificate was passed in favor of the owner and the balance of the gold turned over to him.⁷ This done, the owner was at liberty to dispose of his bullion as he should see fit, provided that it was not sent to foreign countries.⁸ Such was, in brief, the method practiced in Brazil for the collection of the Fifths when the gold of Minas Gerais was discovered.

Employing this roundabout system, in which compliance with the law was left to the honesty of the individual, the Royal Exchequer could scarcely have hoped to collect in full the Fifths of Minas Gerais; nor was the same system, moreover, of convenience to the miners. As has already appeared, the smelting houses were restricted in number and far removed from the centers of mining activity. With the inadequate means of communication then in existence, few miners were willing to risk the long and painful journey from Minas Gerais for the sole purpose of satisfying the Fifths. The result was that most of them found it preferable to sell their gold clandestinely to private parties or to use it, in lieu of coin, to pay for supplies. To be sure, miners almost invariably discounted the fifth part of the value of their gold dust in advance when they used it for purchases on the open mar-

⁶ In 1719 the usual procedure was as follows: the bars were cast in the form of a rectangular parallelepipedon of varying dimensions. On one of the larger sides of each, the royal coat of arms was struck; on the other, the Manueline sphere. Each bar bore the date of the year in which it was cast, its weight, and an indication of its fineness. At their discretion, founders were authorized to use other marks of identity in order to facilitate the detection of bars cast (and therefore illegally) outside the official smelting houses. Memorandum (*aviso*) of February 9, 1719, in the Archives of the Lisbon Mint, Registo 2o, fol. 207 verso.

⁷ At this early day, the Fifths were often literally "broken off" of each bar. This procedure created great confusion.

⁸ *Vide* the collection of Portuguese law, *Ordenações do Reyno de Portugal* (ed. of 1747), Book 2, Title 24, §5.

ket, thereby transferring the obligation of discharging the royal impost to the trader or merchant; but the latter, though tacitly agreeing to surrender the Fifths thus discounted to the nearest smelting house, often pocketed the extra gold.⁹ On the other hand, the smelting houses were not mints; that is, they were not authorized to buy the melted proceeds. They received the gold in its virgin form and cast it into bars for the exclusive purpose of collecting the Fifths. Owners, therefore, had no other recourse than to sell their bullion privately (which was legally permitted) or to send it to the mint at Lisbon, where gold was paid for in coin.

The ineffectiveness of the smelting houses as a means of collecting the Fifths in Brazil had long been recognized. As late as June, 1695, Sebastião de Castro e Caldas, governor of Rio, wrote that a good part of the production of the São Paulo mines—then practically exhausted—¹⁰ never reached the official agencies, but, in order to escape the Crown tax, was disposed of elsewhere. In utter disregard of the law, goldsmiths, Caldas observed, repeatedly melted gold dust for interested parties. Counterfeit dies were used to stamp the bars thus made. Many clergymen, relying on their traditional ecclesiastical immunity, took gold out of the mining fields without declaring it at the smelting houses.

In view of these appreciable losses to the Exchequer, Caldas suggested that all unsmelted gold should be confiscated and that all ships arriving in Lisbon from Rio and Baía should be searched to apprehend shipments of the precious metal

⁹ In the absence of coin, gold dust was unofficially quoted at ten *tostões* (*tostões*) a dram (*oitava*) for all debts and purchases in Minas Gerais at least as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. *Vide* letter of the king to Dom Álvaro da Silveira de Albuquerque, governor of Rio, May 7, 1703, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3122. Gold dust was worth at least one or two *tostões* more in the maritime captaincies. The real culprits in the defrauding of the Fifths were said to have been outside buyers. “... a ambição he muyto poderosa, e sega o entendimento daquelles que dezencaminhaõ o sobredito ouro, rendendolhe tanto huã outava quintada, como huã por quintar, porque quem a compra como não he quintada, e se arisca a padecer a mesma penna, o quer comprar taõ barato, e muitas vezes virá a render menos ao vendedor, do que se fora quintado . . .” (Letter of Artur de Sá e Meneses, governor of Rio, to the king, June 7, 1799, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2216).

¹⁰ Letter of Luiz Lopes Pegado, Chancellor of the Rio Exchequer, to the king, June 18, 1693, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 1871.

which might have failed to pay the Fifths.¹¹ The governor's suggestions were favorably received. Later in the same year of 1695, the home government decreed that unsmelted gold in Rio and São Paulo would thenceforth be liable to confiscation. Proceeds from each such apprehension, the measure declared, would be distributed equally between the denouncer and the Royal Exchequer. Miners and other possessors of gold were again warned to take their ore to the smelting houses or to register it either at the inspection station (*registro*) in Santos or with the secretaries of the vessels plying between this port and Rio. In Lisbon, finally, no passenger from Rio or São Paulo would be allowed to disembark before a proper search for contraband gold had been made.¹²

When the placer mines of Minas Gerais began to be exploited on a wide scale, the smelting houses were in full operation and the decree of 1695 was in full force; yet losses to the Exchequer from gold contraband were heavy. In 1697, when more than four thousand people were reportedly panning for gold in the Caeté area alone,¹³ Artur de Sá e Meneses, Caldas' successor in office, complained¹⁴ to Lisbon of

the bad form of the collection of Your Majesty's Royal Fifths on gold and of the great inconveniences that made it extremely difficult to collect a tax which is legitimately owed, not only because of the great extension of the hinterlands, but also because of the various roads and paths known to the miners by which they are able to reach their destination without passing by the smelting houses. . . .

The problem admittedly called for a prompt solution.

¹¹ Letter to the king, June 22, 1695, cited in the Acta of the Overseas Council, November 4, 1695, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 1984. The reader should not confuse the São Paulo and Minas Gerais mining fields. In this instance, the governor seems to have referred exclusively to the former.

¹² Acta of the Overseas Council, November 4, 1695, *doc. cit.* The Council's recommendations were approved by the king on October 21 [*sic*], 1695 (*ibid.*).

¹³ Letter of Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, June 12, 1697, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2080.

¹⁴ " . . . a mã forma que tem a recadasaõ dos reais quintos do ouro de Vossa Mag.de e os grandes inconvenientes que se offeresem p.a que se possa fazer aquella cobrança que realmente se deve, tanto pellas distancias dos certoinõ como pellos varios caminhos que tem os mineyros p.a se poderem Recolher a pavaoad sem pasarem pellas offiçinas e juntamente pella sua ambisaõ que segamente os obriga a faltarem ao que he devido a Real fazenda de V. Magestade . . . (*ibid.*).

At the beginning of 1699, Meneses returned to Rio from São Paulo, whither he had gone at the behest of the Crown.¹⁵ Before his departure from the capital city other cares of public order had prevented him from giving his full attention to the Fifths. Now, however, the situation could be met. By a public proclamation (*bando*) of April 27, 1699, he allowed holders of untaxed gold a stipulated eight-day period in which to declare their ore at the Rio customs house, where he had temporarily set up a smelting agency.¹⁶ The failure of this measure¹⁷ caused him, on May 29 of the same year, to prohibit the shipment of unsmelted gold to Portugal from the port of Rio on pain of confiscation of the ore and of the imprisonment and exile to Angola of the guilty.¹⁸ Almost simultaneously, the governor opened a judicial investigation (*devassa*) of gold contraband activities¹⁹ and instituted legal proceedings against those who made use of false dies and illegally melted auriferous ore into bars.²⁰ As the result of certain irregularities in its management, he also devoted some attention to the Taubaté smelting house and peremptorily removed the chief inspector (*guarda-mór*) of the mines of that area for

¹⁵ The governor was ordered to visit the São Paulo area by a royal letter of December 17, 1696 (A.H.C., Codex 223, Lo 1º das Cartas do Rio, fol. 160). Meneses left for São Paulo toward the end of the year 1697, possibly on October 15 as a questionable authority (Antônio Duarte Nunes, "Almanac Historico da Cidade de S. Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro composto . . . anno de 1799," in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, XXI, 305) writes. In any event, he was in Rio as late as June 12. *Vide* doc. of Rio, No. 2080, *doc. cit.* He arrived in Rio from the South at least as early as May, 1699. This may be deduced from the letter of the king to the governor, October 7, 1699, in reply to the latter's missive dated Rio, May 4, 1699 (A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2360).

¹⁶ A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2217. For other information on the temporary smelting house—this office apparently accepted the Fifths in gold dust—*vide* letter of Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, June 7, 1699 (*doc. cit.*).

¹⁷ No gold was turned in. Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, June 7, 1699 (*doc. cit.*).

¹⁸ A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2218.

¹⁹ Letter of June 7, 1699, *doc. cit.* Similar judicial investigations were subsequently ordered opened in Lisbon and Baía (Acta of the Overseas Council, October 12, 1699, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1º das Consultas do Rio, fol. 141 verso).

²⁰ Letter of the governor to the king, May 4, 1699, cited in the letter of the latter to the former, Lisbon, October 7, 1699, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2360. *Vide* also Acta of the Overseas Council, October 29, 1700, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 156.

connivance in illicit practices.²¹ Little wonder that the governor's zeal in furthering the best interests of the Exchequer (which led, however, to no very encouraging achievements) should have been repeatedly lauded by the home government.²²

Apparently sensing the futility of the situation, Artur de Sá e Meneses was toying, in the meantime, with a more direct plan to increase the collections of the Fifths in Brazil. This scheme involved the permanent establishment of a mint in Rio to reduce gold bullion to coin.

During the last years of the seventeenth century, Brazilian commerce experienced a great lack of coins, especially of silver, which often rendered business transactions exceedingly difficult.²³ The major part of the currency once in Brazil had found its way to Portugal; the relatively little that remained in the colony was badly chipped and defaced.²⁴ In order to redress the evil, a mint was temporarily opened in Baía in 1694 for the purpose of striking a provincial gold and silver coinage similar to that already used in Portuguese India;²⁵ that is, a coinage of such reduced real value as to discourage its being taken out of Brazil.²⁶ Four years later the ambula-

²¹ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 10, 1699, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 141.

²² *Vide* Acta of the Overseas Council, November 8, 1697, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2079; and Acta of the same body, October 12, 1699, *doc. cit.*

²³ *Vide* decree of March 8, 1694, and letter of the king to the governor of Rio, Lisbon, March 23, 1694, in D. António Caetano de Sousa, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa, desde a sua Origem até o Presente, com as Famílias illustres, que procedem dos Reys, e dos Serenissimos Duques de Bragança, Justificada com Instrumentos, e Escritores de inviolável fé, e Offerecida a El Rey D. João V. nosso senhor* (Lisboa, 1735-1748), IV, 390-392 and 393-394, respectively. *Vide* also letters of the Baía City Council, August 16, 1678, July 15, 1679, April 13, 1680, and July 24, 1680, all cited in the Acta of the Overseas Council, February 4, 1681, in A.H.C., Codex 252, Lo 1o das Consultas da Baía, fol. 67; and Acta of the same Council, December 15, 1678, and December 2, 1679, in A.H.C., Codex 252, *loc. cit.*, fols. 51 and 57 verso, respectively.

²⁴ Acta of the Overseas Council, September 27, 1687, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1o das Consultas do Rio; Acta of the same Council, October 30, 1698, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 130.

²⁵ Decree of March 8, 1694, in António Caetano de Sousa, *op. cit.*, IV, 390-392.

²⁶ *Ibid.* and letter of the king to the governor of Rio, March 23, 1694, in António Caetano de Sousa, *op. cit.*, IV, 393-394. By these two documents, the sending of the new provincial coin out of Brazil was strictly prohibited. Re-

tory mint was moved to Rio,²⁷ also for the same purpose, and, eventually, from there to Pernambuco.²⁸

Before the transference of the mint from Baía to Rio, Artur de Sá e Meneses pointed out to the home government that, in his opinion, the most effective means of controlling the illegal flow of gold—it was obvious to him that the smelting houses alone did not satisfactorily solve the problem—would be to provide that the mint to be established in Rio should limit its operations, after striking the needed gold and silver provincial money, to the coining of gold. The new coins, the governor believed, should be of the same value as those of the mother country, *i.e.*, ten per cent above the real value of the provincial coinage, in order that they might be freely shipped to Portugal.²⁹

The governor's plan, under which miners would supposedly profit from the ten per cent margin, was received in Lisbon with mixed feelings. Because of the well-known difficulties in collecting the Fifths, the solicitor of the Exchequer (*procurador da Fazenda*) said, at a meeting of the Overseas Council, that Artur de Sá e Meneses was wrong in affirming that the receipts from the tax could in this way be increased. It was evident to him (the solicitor) that smugglers would not easily subject themselves to the loss of the fifth part of their gold. The convenience of receiving the equivalent in their gold, after the tax had been paid in standard money, would scarcely induce them, he asserted, to comply with the law; nor did he believe that there could be enough ore to keep the mint in full operation throughout the year.³⁰ Despite the solicitor's unfavorable opinion, the Overseas Council was unwilling to reach a hasty decision; the governor's proposal was there-

peated requests were received in Lisbon from Brazil to devalue the coinage (*vide supra*, n. 23).

²⁷ By a royal letter of January 12, 1698, the Baía mint was ordered closed and transferred to Rio. It began operations in Rio on March 17, 1699 (Visconde de Pôrto Seguro [Francisco Adolfo de Varnhagen], *História Geral do Brasil antes de sua separação e independência de Portugal* [3rd ed., São Paulo, n.d.], III, 353).

²⁸ It was removed to Pernambuco from Rio in 1700 (*ibid.*).

²⁹ Letter of Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, June 12, 1697 (*doc. cit.*).

³⁰ Acta of the Overseas Council, November 8, 1697, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2079.

fore referred to a special Crown committee for further study.³¹

In two respects, the year 1698 proved a disappointment to Meneses. On January 12 the king determined that the value of gold coin in Brazil should be uniform throughout the colony³² and, on November 29, that the Rio mint should operate no longer than twelve months.³³ The governor, however, did not abandon his favorite project. A permanent mint in Rio, he felt, would not only profit from the Fifths but also from seigniorage and brassage. “. . . the only remedy,” he informed the king in 1700, “is to have a mint alone, as I have told Your Majesty, because the higher price offered [*i.e.*, ten per cent above the value of the provincial coinage] would attract all gold to the mint, and this gold would of necessity have to pay the Fifths or be confiscated. . . .”³⁴ No other plan, he was convinced, had so much in its favor. When word reached him in Rio through Lisbon that the chancellor of the Rio Exchequer had suggested the creation of new smelting houses as a means of increasing the receipts of the Fifths, Meneses hastened to protest against it. “. . . would that I could reduce the four that already exist to one only,” he confessed.³⁵

A few months later, in August, 1700, Artur de Sá e Meneses left Rio for Minas Gerais.³⁶ For the nonce other prob-

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 30, 1698, in A.H.C., Codex 232, L^o 1^o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 130.

³⁴ “. . . o unico remedio era só haver officina de moeda de ouro, como tenho feito a V. Magestade, porque com a ambição de mayor preço todo o ouro vinha à Casa da Moeda, e este de necessidade havia de ser quintado, pello não perderem. . . .” Letter to the king, May 1, 1700, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2359.

³⁵ “. . . tomara eu reduzir as coatro que hã a huã somente. . . .” *Ibid.*

³⁶ The date of the governor's departure is a matter of conjecture, although it is definitely known that he was in Rio as late as May 1, 1700 (*ibid.*). André João Antonil, *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil por suas drogas e minas* (ed. by Afonso d'Escragnolle Tannay, São Paulo, 1923), p. 242, writes that Meneses left Rio on August 23, but unfortunately does not give the year. In all likelihood, the departure took place toward the end of 1700, shortly after the Old Road (*Caminho Velho*) to Minas Gerais was opened up and probably on August 23 of that year, for Antonil is unusually reliable. The governor returned to Rio at least as early as June 7, 1701, when he wrote to the king on the results of his journey (Acta of the Overseas Council, November 15, 1701, in A.H.C., Codex 232, L^o 1^o das Consultas do Rio).

lems occupied his attention. His tour of the mining fields was a revelation. He observed the extraordinary activity of the area. He saw that the extraction of gold would continue indefinitely. From the standpoint of the Royal Exchequer, the governor was quick to perceive that immediate action was necessary; only the proper fiscalization of the new industry could insure a better collection of the Fifths and other imposts.³⁷ In 1700 Meneses received a bare 369 drams of gold from the sale of fourteen mining allotments (*datas*). In the following year, as a result of his efforts, he expected to receive 2,669 for seven.³⁸ Minas Gerais was already in the throes of a tremendous gold rush, and it behooved the governor to protect the interests of the Crown.

Shortly after his arrival in Minas Gerais, and acting in accordance with the urgent needs of the moment, the governor promulgated a tentative mining code (*regimento*) exclusively for the area of the gold fields. To Manuel Lopes de Medeiros and Domingos da Silva Bueno was entrusted its enforcement.³⁹ The latter was also named chief inspector of the mines and granted limited authority in civil and criminal matters.⁴⁰ The governor appointed Manuel de Borba Gato to supervise the collection of the Fifths in the Velhas River district.⁴¹ He appointed, on April 18, 1701, other fiscal agents and created inspection stations on the principal roads to Rio, São Paulo, Baía, and Pernambuco.⁴² On the same day, he

³⁷ Notably the income from the sale of royal mining allotments. An allotment for the Crown was set aside in every public distribution of mining lands. The Crown's share was usually sold to the highest bidder. *Vide* mining code of 1618, in *Ordenações, e Leys do Reyno de Portugal* (ed. of 1747), *Leis Extravagantes*, title 24.

³⁸ Acta of the Overseas Council, November 15, 1701, *doc. cit.*

³⁹ Letter of Artur de Sá e Meneses to the king, June 10, 1701, cited in the Acta of the Overseas Council, November 26, 1701, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *Lo 1º das Consultas do Rio*, fol. 165 verso. The code was promulgated in 1700. A definitive mining code was published two years later. The latter document is given *in extenso* in A.H.C., Codex 169, *Lo 1º de Regimentos*, fol. 109 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ José João Teixeira Coelho, "Instrução para o governo da capitania de Minas Geraes . . . 1780," in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, XV, 320; and "Descrição geographica, topographica, historica e politica da capitania das Minas Geraes seu descobrimento, estado civil, politico e das rendas reaes (1781)," *ibid.*, LXXI, Parte 1a, 127.

⁴¹ Teixeira Coelho, *loc cit.*, p. 320.

⁴² *Ibid.*

prohibited the departure of anyone from Minas Gerais without a receipt to show that the Fifths had been duly paid in ore at these wayside stations.⁴³ How ineffective was the last measure will soon appear.

Upon his return to Rio at the beginning of 1701, Artur de Sá e Meneses again took up the cudgels on behalf of his favorite project.⁴⁴ He had already won the support of the Rio city council. As early as June 21, 1700, that civic body, auguring a handsome return from the Fifths and from seigniorage and brassage, had pointed out to the Crown the advantages of maintaining a permanent mint in the city.⁴⁵ The council's suggestion strengthened the governor's hand in Lisbon; but neither the council's letter nor Meneses' insistence fully explain why the Crown at length embraced the scheme. The real reason must be found in the noticeable decline in the receipts of the Exchequer which followed immediately upon the removal of the ambulatory mint from Rio to Pernambuco.⁴⁶

The establishment of a definitive mint in Rio for the striking of gold coins identical in value with those of Portugal was decreed on January 16, 1702,⁴⁷ and the new agency was subsequently installed in the building which had formerly

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Vide* Acta of the Overseas Council, December 13, 1701, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 178; and *supra*, n. 36. Since the closing of the Baía road on January 20, 1701 (letter of Dom Rodrigo da Costa, sometime governor-general of Brazil, to the king, Lisbon?, June 19, 1706? in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2917), during his absence in Minas Gerais, the governor was probably convinced that the creation of a mint in Rio was more advisable than ever. The smelting houses in the São Vicente-São Paulo area, he may have believed, were quite sufficient to take care of the Fifths in that part of Brazil. After 1701, therefore, the only important unprotected outlet was Rio de Janeiro, where, apart from the greater vigilance on the part of the forces of justice, nothing had been done to canalize the flow of gold.

⁴⁵ Acta of the Overseas Council, November 3, 1700, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1º das Consultas do Rio, fol. 158 verso.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Acta of the Overseas Council, December 13, 1701, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 178. Both the Visconde de Pôrto Seguro (*op. cit.*, III, 353) and J. Lúcio de Azevedo (*Épocas de Portugal Económico* [Lisboa, 1929], p. 352) give the date as January 31, 1702. The king had decided to establish a mint in Rio as early as January 12, 1701. *Vide* Acta of the Overseas Council, November 3, 1700 (postscript), *doc. cit.*

housed the commerce commission (*Junta do Comércio*).⁴⁸ In the same year, and in connection with the mint, a smelting house was established as a convenience for those who should prefer gold bars to coin.⁴⁹ In the following year, the recently founded mint was authorized to buy gold dust at the price of twelve tostoons a dram, the royal tax of twenty per cent being included in the purchase price.⁵⁰ At the same time, the price of gold in the mining fields was fixed by law at ten tostoons a dram. The difference of two tostoons in the two price schedules was expected to encourage the flow of gold to the mint. Great profits, on the other hand, were also anticipated from seigniorage, since the nominal value of the coinage was set at almost sixteen tostoons a dram.⁵¹

Contrary to confident expectations, the establishment of the mint did not at once bring the desired results. During the two years that lay between October 15, 1703, when the purchase of gold began,⁵² and August 29, 1705, a little more than 4,062 marcs (*marcos*) of gold were turned in, that is, about sixty-three arrobas. After being melted and struck into coins, the gold thus received netted *Milréis* 389:990\$965, including the profit from seigniorage at *Milréis* 6\$400 a marc. Of this money, *Milréis* 311:975\$150 were paid to the owners at the rate of twelve tostoons a dram, and an additional 6:960\$390 were set aside for the expenses of coinage. In short, during the two years in question the liquid profit was only *Milréis* 71:055\$425, excluding the overhead expenses of the mint. Had the same gold been handled in the smelting houses instead, the Crown would have received *Milréis* 73:332\$592, in addition to the profits accruing from seigniorage.⁵³

⁴⁸ Acta of the Overseas Council, September 7, 1703, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 198 verso.

⁴⁹ Azevedo, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

⁵⁰ Letter of the king to Dom Álvaro da Silveira de Albuquerque, Artur de Sá e Meneses' successor as governor of Rio, May 7, 1703, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3122.

⁵¹ *Milréis* 1\$577 and 33/100 in 1705. A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3125.

⁵² Letter of Manuel de Sousa, judge (*juiz*) of the Rio mint, to the king, November 10, 1705, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3091.

⁵³ *Receipts of the Mint*

Value of gold reduced to bars..... 366:662\$965

As the judge of the Rio mint confessed in December, 1705, the purchase of gold dust had been more ruinous than profitable.⁵⁴ Before the establishment of the mint, he said, the Fifths were collected on the melted ore, that is, on gold free from impurities. The inevitable decrease in weight suffered in the smelting process, ranging from five to eight per cent,⁵⁵ was not borne by the Exchequer but by the individual. The former was thus twice protected. On the other hand, the purchase of gold dust by the mint not only transferred this considerable charge to the Exchequer, but also encouraged the malicious introduction of extraneous matter in the virgin gold in order that its owners, by such subterfuge, might profit from added weight. This deception could not easily be detected by the eye.

These were not the only disagreeable consequences of the new method. After the establishment of the mint, one observer wrote, "no one wanted to bring gold to discount the Fifths" at the smelting houses.⁵⁶ With the collections of the tax practically limited to the mint, which had included the impost in the purchase price of gold, the total receipts from the Fifths in Brazil suffered a great decline. According to Antonil, the annual production of the mines at the beginning of the eighteenth century was estimated at one hundred arrobas.⁵⁷ Of this amount, twenty nominally belonged to the

Seigniorage	23:328\$000
Total	389:990\$965
<i>Expenses of the Mint</i>	
Purchase of gold at 12 tostoons a dram.....	311:975\$150
Expenses of reducing the same to bars.....	4:840\$440
Expenses of coinage.....	2:119\$950
Total	318:935\$540
<i>Liquid Profit</i>	71:055\$425

Vide A.H.C., Docs. of Rio, Nos. 3091, 3123, and 3125-7.

⁵⁴ Letter of Manuel de Sousa to the king, Rio, December 7, 1705, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3121.

⁵⁵ Acta of the Overseas Council of June 22, 1712, in A.H.C., Codex 233, Lo 2o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 35 *et seq.* The 4,062 mares of gold turned in at the mint, as mentioned above, were reduced to 3,655 after being melted (A.H.C., Docs. of Rio, Nos. 3091, 3123, and 3125-7).

⁵⁶ "...ninguem mais quis trazer o ouro a quintar. . . ." Letter of Luiz Lopes Pegado, chancellor of the Rio Exchequer, to the king, March 17, 1705, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2929.

⁵⁷ Antonil, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

Crown; yet the latter, over the above-mentioned period of almost two years, collected little more than the gold turned in at the Rio mint.⁵⁸

The disappointing results of the first years of the new plan were partly attributable to changes occurring in the unofficial money market. When the mint was authorized to purchase gold at twelve tostoons a dram, the precious metal was privately sold in Rio for sums ranging from eleven to twelve tostoons a dram.⁵⁹ The fact, however, that the official price included the charge for the Fifths caused private purchasers to increase their own price to thirteen, fourteen, and more tostoons a dram,⁶⁰ thus nullifying such advantage as the mint might have enjoyed. As a consequence, many people were tempted to profit from the illicit traffic at the expense of the Exchequer. It was estimated that for every person who brought his gold to the mint, twenty others disposed of it elsewhere; even those who took the ore to the mint often did not declare all the gold in their possession.⁶¹

Once the owner of gold ore had escaped the perfunctory vigilance exercised by the colonial authorities, he had little difficulty in disposing of his metal privately. The relative ease of evading the law was not calculated to augment the proceeds of the Rio mint. The constantly increasing dereliction resulted, in large measure, from the abolition of the restrictions which had heretofore controlled the shipments of gold to Portugal. Contrary to the practice followed in the past, vessels were no longer searched, and no question was now raised at the Lisbon mint as to whether the gold turned

⁵⁸ Referring to the suggested creation of a mint in Baía, Dom Rodrigo da Costa, ex-governor-general of Brazil, wrote, on June 19, 1706†, that the custom should not be followed there “de se aseitar o ouro em pó a doze tostoos a outava, ficando logo pagos por este caminho os d.os quintos p.r que a todas as luzes se manifesta este grande herro, como em deixar de ver, q̃ podendo a R.l fazenda de V. Mag.de lograr duas conveniencias fique só tendo a unica da sua senhoreage, p.r que a dos quintos pára toda na quebra referida, sendo êste o melhor meyo p.a capear a ynsaciavel cede dos que só vivem do q̃ roubam a V. Mag.de . . .” (*doc. cit.*).

⁵⁹ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 16, 1704, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 217 verso.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Vide also A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3121.

⁶¹ A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3121.

in had satisfied the Fifths in Brazil.⁶² In 1695, the solicitor of the Exchequer, convinced that even though such liberty did not increase the king's privy purse, it did increase the wealth of the king's subjects, "who, as much and even more than the Exchequer itself, made Kings rich," had suggested to the Overseas Council that nothing should be done to prevent the shipment of gold to Portugal.⁶³ By the beginning of the eighteenth century this line of reasoning was no longer exclusively followed; it was rather the fear of diverting the flow of Brazilian gold to foreign countries that caused the home government to countenance the contraband trade in Portugal.⁶⁴ An observer wisely remarked that, so long as Brazilians did not have the certainty that their gold would not be questioned upon its arrival in Portugal, the collections from the Fifths in Brazil amounted to as much as eighteen arrobas annually; when it became known that no questions would be asked, that the vessels would not be searched, and that the Lisbon mint would accept all gold at its true value, the income from the colonial impost progressively decreased.⁶⁵

In the mother country, the operation of the mint in Rio was not looked upon with uncritical eyes. In 1704 the solicitor of the Exchequer focussed the attention of the home government on the grave deficiencies of the establishment.⁶⁶ Two years later the president of the Overseas Council disparaged the activities of the recently created agency with equal vehe-

⁶² " . . . pois se deu liberde p.a que cada hu o trouchesse [i.e., gold] como quisesse sem se examinar se vem ou não [i.e., quintado]." Acta of the Overseas Council, September 7, 1703, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 198.

⁶³ " . . . pois sendo muito, quando se não enrisqueça a fazenda real, enriqueçensse os vassallos, que tanto e mais que a propria fazenda, faziaõ os Reys ricos. . . ." Acta of the Overseas Council, November 4, 1695, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 1984.

⁶⁴ In 1706, for example, a great quantity of gold, both in ore and in bars, entered Portugal without paying the Fifths (Acta of the Overseas Council, October 26, 1706, in A.H.C., Codex 232, L^o 1^o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 235 verso). As early as 1702 the Overseas Council was of the opinion that the fiscalization of gold shipments should be centered in Brazil and not in Portugal (Acta of the Overseas Council, March 6, 1702, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 180 verso).

⁶⁵ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 26, 1706, *doc. cit.*

⁶⁶ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 16, 1704, in A.H.C., Codex 232, L^o 1^o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 217 verso.

mence.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the criticism of these court circles was never fully shared by the king. Because of the failure of other attempts to increase the collection of the Fifths, the Crown was unwilling to risk other experiments which might prove even less efficient.⁶⁸ It was, moreover, evident that, despite the losses suffered, the most appreciable source of income from the Fifths in Brazil was that produced by the Rio mint.⁶⁹

Other attempts than the establishment of the Rio mint were made to safeguard the Crown tax. It will be recalled that Artur de Sá e Meneses had devoted some attention to the Taubaté smelting house, where a number of irregularities had been committed.⁷⁰ To augment the efficiency of that house, a new die was sent from Rio, and it reached Parati in or about the year 1702.⁷¹ Efforts were thereupon made to transport the heavy instrument to Taubaté, but the road connecting the two settlements was of difficult passage, and special means of transportation were required. At this juncture, in November, 1702, the high captain (*capitão-mór*) of Parati wrote to Dom Álvaro da Silveira de Albuquerque, Meneses' successor: "The establishment of a smelting house in this township and another one in Santos would be of advantage to the interests of the King my lord, because the production of the mines passes through these two ports. It would make it possible for all gold to pay the Fifths."⁷²

⁶⁷ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 26, 1706, *doc. cit.*

⁶⁸ The Dowager Queen of England, Regent of Portugal, wrote on March 17, 1705: "Não ha que alterar a forma da compra do ouro em pô . . ." (A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 217 verso). *Vide* also Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, in A.H.C., Codex 232, *loc. cit.*, fol. 257 verso: ". . . e este meyo de estabelecer cazas da moeda nas partes, em q̃ se ajunta mayor quantidade do producto das Minas foi o mais eficaz que acharão os Reys de Castella p.a evitarem os descaminhos dos quintos. . . ."

⁶⁹ Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*

⁷⁰ *Vide supra*, pp. 363-364.

⁷¹ Letter of Luiz Lopes Pegado to the king, Rio, September 5, 1703, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2729.

⁷² ". . . o que convinha o serv.co del Rei meu senhor hera nesta vila haver caza de quintos, e na de Santos, porque sam os dois portos por donde passa todo o ouro e ficava sua magestade fixando os portos a se lhe devirtir nenhum o ouro sem ser quintado. . . ." November 5, 1702. A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2726. At this time, Parati was one of the stopping points on the journey from Rio to Minas Gerais.

Transmitted to Lisbon by Dom Álvaro, the suggestion advanced by Miguel Teles da Costa was favorably received in Portugal. Artur de Sá e Meneses, who had returned to Europe following his term of office as governor of Rio, supported it wholeheartedly. Greater fiscalization at the two ports, he felt, would inevitably improve the collections of the Fifths.⁷³ The home government eventually took the same stand; in 1704 the smelting houses of São Paulo and Taubaté were closed and their instruments ordered set up in Santos and Parati.⁷⁴

The production of gold, meanwhile, had grown inordinately. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Antonil wrote that fully one thousand arrobas (32,000 lbs.) of the precious metal had been mined during the first ten years of the gold rush.⁷⁵ The commercial fleet of 1703, another contemporary affirmed, transported some two hundred arrobas of gold to Portugal.⁷⁶ In 1705, when fifty thousand people in Minas Gerais were estimated to be economically dependent on gold, the fleet of that year was said to have carried approximately five hundred arrobas from Brazil to the mother country, of which less than twenty were earmarked for the crown.⁷⁷ Writing to a friend abroad, José da Cunha Brochado, member of the Overseas Council, in 1708 reported that, at that time, fully five hundred arrobas of gold were on board ships of the Brazilian run in the Tagus estuary and that other vessels expected from Rio assertedly carried gold for bal-

⁷³ Letter to the king, Lisbon, January 15, 1704, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2725.

⁷⁴ The change was approved by the Overseas Council on January 18, 1704, and by the king on January 26 of the same year (Acta of the same body of January 18, 1704, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2724). By letter of February 7, 1704, the governor of Santos was ordered to transfer the smelting house from São Paulo to the coast town. *Vide* public proclamation of Jorge Soares de Macedo, governor of Santos, October 9, 1704, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3112. Inspection stations had been ordered established in Parati and Santos as early as May 9, 1703. *Vide* Acta of the Overseas Council, September 20, 1704, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 215 verso.

⁷⁵ Antonil, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

⁷⁶ Félix Madureira e Gusmão, report of July 28, 1705† in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2910.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

last.⁷⁸ Even so, these enormous sums do not give the complete story, for an appreciable part of the total production of the mines remained in Brazil and lesser amounts found their way directly to foreign countries. Some deduction may probably be made for exaggeration; but it is undeniable that the extraction of gold was exceedingly large.

Despite the efforts made to curb it, the clandestine flow of gold kept pace with the increasing development of the mines. Basing his conclusion on the reasonable assumption that more than thirty-two pounds (an arroba) of gold were panned each day, not including the gold extracted from pits and by other more complicated processes, one critic felt certain, as he wrote in 1705, that the income from the Fifths, if properly collected, could net the Exchequer a million *cruzados* annually.⁷⁹ Yet, in the few years prior to 1709, the receipts from the impost amounted to less than a fifth of his estimate *per annum*.⁸⁰

Only a diminutive proportion of the extracted metal found its way to the smelting houses and mint. According to a contemporary writer, less than a tenth of such gold was declared.⁸¹ It struck Antonil as strange that, in view of the great auriferous production of Minas Gerais, the proceeds from the Fifths should have shown a consistent decline.⁸² In slightly more than two years, from January 16, 1708, to April 8, 1710, the Rio smelting house collected a little in excess of 819 marcs of gold (about twelve and one-half arrobas), which, at the price of fifteen tostoons a dram, amounted to *Milréis* 78:624\$000.⁸³ The income from the Fifths during the corresponding period of time in Santos and Parati is not known; but since the Rio house was the most important in Brazil, by virtue of the city's predominant position as the gateway to

⁷⁸ Azevedo, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁷⁹ Report of Félix Madureira e Gusmão, *doc. cit.* Three million *cruzados* according to Filipe de Barros Pereira, amanuensis of Garcia Rodrigues Pais, in his letter to the king, Rio, September 15, 1705, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3107.

⁸⁰ Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*

⁸¹ Report of Félix Madureira e Gusmão, *doc. cit.*

⁸² Antonil, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV.

⁸³ "Relação do rendim.to do ouro dos quintos dizimos, e tomadias pertencente a Sua Mag.de que Deos g.de," in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3249.

Minas Gerais, it is to be presumed that the collections in the first two agencies were infinitely less.⁸⁴

If contrabandists almost openly shipped their gold from those ports where smelting houses were located and, in Rio, under the very nose of the mint itself,⁸⁵ the situation was incomparably worse in Baía, where no similar agencies existed to deter them. "... Your Majesty is losing millions [*i.e.*, *cruzados*, an anonymous observer informed the king in 1706]; ... so much gold is sent to the said city of Baía that the amount cannot be counted in arrobas but in quintals [*quintais*]. ..."⁸⁶ This gold, he added, was freely shipped to Portugal and even to foreign countries without paying the Fifths. Dom Fernando Martins Mascarenhas de Lencastre, the new governor of Rio, held the same opinion. It was impossible, he confessed, to control the contraband trade, especially along the Minas Gerais-Baía highway. He felt certain that more gold reached Baía, where there was neither a mint nor a smelting house, than came to Rio itself.⁸⁷

Don Fernando believed that only the establishment of a smelting house in Baía would reduce the outflow of contraband gold. In Lisbon, Dom Rodrigo da Costa, the ex-governor-general of Brazil, advised the same expedient, and he also suggested the creation of a mint in that city. But, he said, the practice as followed in Rio of purchasing gold dust at twelve tostoons a dram should not be adopted in Baía, for

⁸⁴ Writing from Rio. Luiz Lopes Pegado, chancellor of the Rio Exchequer, reported, on March 17, 1705, that "Joaõ Miz Coutto trousses da Villa de Paraty nove centas e quinze outavas de ouro dos quintos q̃ rende a officina . . ." (A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2929).

⁸⁵ "... os que levam o ouro á caza da moeda do Rio de Janeiro quintam o que querem, p.a que debaixo deste ceguro lhe fique reservado todo o mais que trazem sem a pensam de se lhe tomar por perdido, assi nas Minnas, como no Rio de Janeiro. . . ." Letter of Dom Rodrigo da Costa, *doc. cit.*

⁸⁶ "... esta V. Mg.de perdendo milhoes . . . he tanto o ouro q̃ vem a d.a cidade da Bahia q̃ não so se pode contar as arobas senão aos quintais o qual esta paçando p.a todo o Reino e lo levaõ tão bem os estrangeiros livrem.te sem pagar quintos. . . ." Undated MS. (the date given above is taken from the Overseas Council's marginal notes) in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 3110. There are four arrobas or one hundred and twenty-eight pounds in a quintal.

⁸⁷ Letter to the king, Rio, February 3, 1706, in A.H.C., Doc. of Rio, No. 2899. His report on the amount of gold sent to Baía is confirmed in the Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*

this would be "the best way to satisfy the insatiable thirst of those who live only on what they steal from Your Majesty. . . ."⁸⁸ Though the plight of the Fifths in the capital of Brazil was well known, the fear of increasing the expenses of the Royal Exchequer in America caused the Crown to defer action; and it was not until 1714 that the proposed mint was at length established in Baía.⁸⁹

"... no adequate means have yet been found," João Teles da Silva, a member of the Overseas Council, admitted in 1709, "to avoid the notorious defrauding of the Fifths. . . ."⁹⁰ He readily agreed that the social and economic disorder in which the settlers of Minas Gerais lived was at the root of the evil;⁹¹ but he could scarcely see his way clear to suggest the creation of civil and military administrations in the mining country at an estimated cost of more than a million *cruzados* when the annual income from the Fifths, in the immediate past, had been no more than two hundred thousand. The financial hurdle was one which the Exchequer could not easily take.

The problem of the collection of the Fifths was partly complicated by the presence of numerous regular priests in Minas Gerais, who engaged in business on the often groundless pretext of assisting their religious communities. "... they are in the habit of taking arrobas of gold," Domingos da Silva Bueno wrote in 1704, "and they are not known to declare more than a few drams. . . ."⁹² Abusing the privilege of ecclesiastical immunity, many clergymen clandestinely transported

⁸⁸ *Vide supra*, n. 58.

⁸⁹ *Vide* affidavit (*certidão*) signed by the Marquis of Angeja, viceroy of Brazil, in favor of Eugénio Freire de Andrade, master (*provedor*) of the new mint, Baía, August 20, 1718, in A.H.C., unclassified papers of Minas Gerais. The creation of a mint in Baía was also suggested by the Overseas Council as early as 1701 (Acta of the same body, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*).

⁹⁰ "... se não tem achado meyo adequado com que evitarse possa os desca-minhos que notoriamente se experimentaõ. . . ." Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*

⁹¹ Certain phases of the Brazilian gold rush have been treated by Manoel da Silveira Soares Cardozo, "Alguns Aspectos da Vida Económica e Política do Brasil na Primeira Década do Século XVIII," in *Ocidente* (Lisboa), Vol. I, No. 2 (June, 1938), pp. 258 *et seq.*

⁹² "... custumaõ levar arobas de ouro, e não consta quintarem mais de huaõ poucas de oitavas. . . ." Letter to the king, Minas Gerais, August 20, 1704, in A.H.C., unclassified papers of Minas Gerais.

gold out of the mining fields for their lay friends.⁹³ Again, merchants and traders from Rio, Baía, and elsewhere, who exceeded the miners in number,⁹⁴ received large amounts of gold dust in payment for goods, most of which gold also escaped the Crown tax. In large measure, the officers of the inspection stations in Minas Gerais were likewise to blame for the scandalous state of affairs. They were not above a bribe or above the temptation to defraud the Exchequer; and, though the majority of them were "very poor" upon entering office, it did not often take them long to amass fortunes.⁹⁵ On top of all other difficulties, the clergy early spread "the pestiferous doctrine that the defrauding of the Fifths does not demand the restitution of the amount thus stolen because of the application of civil punishment when the crime is discovered."⁹⁶ Such a theological interpretation tended to give the impression that the contraband trade in gold was not, from the Church's point of view, immoral or sinful.

It will be recalled that the agencies established to collect the tax were not located in Minas Gerais, but in the maritime captaincies, where, as it was thought, the impost could be more effectively collected than in the mining fields. There was some talk of establishing smelting houses in Minas Gerais itself as a means of controlling the illegal egress of gold, but those in authority soon realized that such an establishment presupposed the solution of other more complicated problems. In her dilemma, the mother country considered the proposal of discounting part of the tax as a "travelling allowance" for those who would bring their gold to the coast smelting houses.⁹⁷ At one time, the farming out of the Fifths was also considered.⁹⁸ Other suggestions for the collection

⁹³ Report of Manuel de Sousa, judge of the Rio mint, December 7, 1705, *doc. cit.*

⁹⁴ Domingos da Silva Bueno to the king, *doc. cit.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ " . . . a pestifera doutrina de q̃ a fraude dos quintos não pede restituição, por ter pena civil quando chegar a descobrir-se." Letter of Alexandre de Gusmão to Frei Gaspar da Encarnação, Lisbon, December 19, 1750, in Santa Luzia Archives, Lisbon, Box 408.

⁹⁷ Letter of Dom Rodrigo da Costa, *doc. cit.*; report of Félix Madureira e Gusmão, *doc. cit.*; Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*

⁹⁸ The king actually ordered it on March 30, 1707 (*vide* royal despatch ap-

of the Fifths were the delegation of the responsibility to the *Paulistas*⁹⁹ alone, the closing of Minas Gerais to all non-*Paulista* settlers, and the transference of complete and absolute liberty of government to those natives of São Paulo in the mining fields.¹⁰⁰ Portugal was attempting to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of the Fifths when revolution broke out in Minas Gerais.¹⁰¹

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pended to the Acta of the Overseas Council, October 26, 1706, in A.H.C., Codex 232, Lo 1o das Consultas do Rio, fol. 235 verso), but the plan was never carried out. The plan was again discussed in 1707 (Acta of the Overseas Council, July 17, 1709, *doc. cit.*).

⁹⁹ I.e., residents or natives of the São Paulo-São Vicente area.

¹⁰⁰ Acta of the Overseas Council, October 26, 1706, *doc. cit.*

¹⁰¹ The so-called "Guerra dos Emboabas," 1708-1709.

JOSÉ SILVESTRE REBELLO:
THE FIRST DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVE OF
BRAZIL IN THE UNITED STATES¹

On March 28, 1824, the American brig *Morris* arrived at Baltimore from Rio de Janeiro bringing South America's first official response to the Monroe Doctrine.² One of the ship's few passengers was José Silvestre Rebello, who bore a commission as chargé d'affaires under which he was soon to become the first diplomatic representative of the independent government of Brazil in the United States. His first task was to persuade the United States to recognize the independence of the newly established empire of Brazil, and the

¹ This article is based mainly upon a study of the manuscript correspondence of Rebello with the Brazilian court, which is preserved in the Arquivo do Itamaraty (Archives of the Secretaria de Estado das Relações Exteriores, Itamaraty Palace, Rio de Janeiro). A large part, though by no means all, of it has been published in *Arquivo diplomático da independência*, Vol. V, *Estados unidos e estados do prata* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923), cited below as *Arquivo diplomático*. For all documents published in it, the reader will be referred to this volume; only in the case of unpublished documents will the Arquivo do Itamaraty be cited. The principal secondary accounts of this subject are (1) Zacarias de Góes Carvalho, "Silvestre Rebello em Washington," in *Arquivo diplomático*, pp. vii-xlvii, which was written entirely from Brazilian sources, and (2) Hildebrando Accioly, *O Reconhecimento do Brasil pelos Estados Unidos da América* (São Paulo, 1936), which is based upon William R. Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence of the United States concerning the independence of the Latin American nations* (3 vols., New York, 1925), as well as Brazilian sources, and supersedes all previous accounts of the subject, including Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1903), but which was written without the aid of John Quincy Adams's indispensable *Memoirs* and deals only with the first year of Rebello's mission. A brief account of the mission, with bibliographical data, is contained in Lawrence F. Hill, *Diplomatic relations between the United States and Brazil* (Durham, N. C., 1932), which on the Brazilian side, is based only on printed materials. Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), discusses the mission in relation to the doctrine. See also Charles Lyon Chandler, *Inter-American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, 1917). I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Social Science Research Council and the University of Pennsylvania for grants in aid of this study, and to the staff of the Arquivo do Itamaraty, whom I found as hospitable as Rebello found the society of Baltimore and Washington a century ago.

² Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 195, n. 16.

instructions which he brought with him argued that the imperial government's claim to such recognition was supported by the Monroe Doctrine itself. From the point of view of those who have held that Monroe's message was designed to exclude from America not only European interference but also the monarchical system of government, this might seem a rank perversion of its purpose; but that fact only increases the interest already attaching to these instructions as the first official commentary on the Monroe Doctrine made by any South American government.

Though he found many occasions to complain bitterly of the "republican intolerance" of the American people and the beastly climate of Washington, Rebello remained at his post for more than five years. During this time he gave his attention to a remarkably wide range of subjects, which extended from the progress of inventions to the spread of Roman Catholicism in the United States. Naturally, however, he was mainly concerned with problems of international law and diplomacy, such as those relating to recognition, neutrality, armaments, commerce, the Monroe Doctrine, and the American System; and it is these aspects of his mission that are emphasized in the following pages.

I

The independence of Brazil was proclaimed by the Prince Regent, Dom Pedro, on September 7, 1822. Already, on August 12, he had appointed a diplomatic agent to the United States, which had recently begun to recognize the new states of Spanish America; but for reasons that are not entirely clear, this agent never went to the United States and a year and a half elapsed before his successor, José Silvestre Rebello, was chosen and started on his way to Washington.³ In the

* No explanation of these facts is given by any of the writers mentioned in note 1. Calogeras offers no explanation beyond the statement that Luiz Moutinho Lima Alvares e Silva, the agent chosen for the mission to the United States in 1822, was too busy with his duties as *official-maior* of the Foreign Office at Rio to be spared (João Pandiá Calogeras, *A politica exterior do Imperio*, Vol. II, *O primeiro reinado*, Rio de Janeiro, 1928, p. 48). The question is an interesting one, but the purpose of this article does not require it to be discussed here. Brief accounts of the international position of Brazil at this time are contained in João

interval the prince regent had assumed the title of emperor, as Pedro I, had assembled a convention to draw up a constitution for the empire, and had dissolved the convention when it became unruly. It was to be feared that the dissolution of the convention might have an unfavorable effect on opinion in the United States, whose good will was rendered more important to Brazil just at this time by the arrival of alarming reports about the schemes of the Holy Alliance. Fortunately, about the same time the court received an encouraging letter from its consul general in the United States, Antonio Gonçalves da Cruz, who wrote that the foreign policy of the United States was designed to promote its economic interests, regardless of the forms of government of the countries with which the United States traded. Consequently, he declared, it would be a simple matter for the imperial government at Rio to induce the republican government at Washington to recognize it if it cared to make the effort.⁴

This was the state of affairs when the authorities at Rio decided to send Rebello on his mission to the United States. The Monroe Doctrine apparently had nothing to do with the decision, which had already been made before Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, reached the Brazilian capital.⁵ But the message arrived most opportunely while Rebello's instructions were being drafted, and it was used to reinforce Brazil's

Pandiá Calogeras, *A History of Brazil*, English translation by Percy Alvin Martin (Chapel Hill, 1939), pp. 85-93, and, with special reference to its attitude towards the Monroe Doctrine, in Joseph B. Lockey, *Pan-Americanism: its beginnings* (New York, 1920), pp. 250-254. See also William S. Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939), pp. 404-438.

⁴ *Arquivo diplomático*, pp. 71-74, Gonçalves da Cruz to Carlos Antonio de Andrada e Silva, Philadelphia, July 31, 1823. Gonçalves da Cruz never received either his commission (*carta patente*) or his exequatur, but he was addressed as consul general by the Brazilian Foreign Office, frequently wrote to it in that character as well as privately, and rendered it important services. Accioly, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-91 and 127-138, devotes two chapters to his career in the United States.

⁵ I am not aware that any previous writer has called attention to this fact; but it is clearly established by documentary evidence. Monroe's message of December 2, 1823, did not reach Rio de Janeiro until January 22, 1824 (Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence*, II, 775), whereas Rebello's mission to the United States had already been decided upon at least as early as January 7 (*Arquivo diplomático*, pp. 78-79).

claim to recognition, to obtain which was the main purpose of the mission.

Rebello began his work at Washington under favorable auspices. Despite their political differences and a certain degree of economic rivalry, both Brazil and the United States had a good deal to gain by cultivating friendly relations with each other. Much valuable spadework had already been done in the United States in 1822 and 1823 by Gonçalves da Cruz, and Rebello was also aided by the letters of introduction which he had obtained from Condé Raguet, Philadelphia economist, humanitarian, and politician, and commercial agent of the United States at Rio de Janeiro.⁶

Rebello himself acknowledged that the warm reception accorded him by the "hospitable people" of Baltimore and even in diplomatic circles at Washington was due to the letters of introduction given him by Raguet. It was in this way that he met the Baltimore bookseller, Edward J. Coale, whom he later appointed Brazilian vice-consul in that city, and through whom he now met a number of distinguished persons, among them the octogenarian Charles Carroll of Carrollton, one of the few surviving signers of the Declaration of Independence; the Archbishop of Baltimore, from whom he was gratified to learn of the rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States; and General John Devereux, who had led an Irish division in the war for independence in Colombia and with whom he discussed the founding of an Irish colony in Brazil. In Washington, he was so cordially welcomed that he asked his government for a special allowance to enable him to return the courtesies showered upon him and also urged it to show similar courtesies to his efficient sponsor, Raguet.⁷

While Rebello was favored by circumstances, it must be recognized that he possessed important qualifications for his post. Although some Brazilians objected to his appointment

⁶ Raguet was not deterred by the fact that, as he warned Adams, Rebello was said to be "of the highest order of ultra-imperialists" (despatch from Raguet to Adams, cited below, note 8). Rebello himself testified to the great value of the letters of introduction that Raguet had given him (*Archivo diplomático*, pp. 79-85 and 102-103).

⁷ See above, note 6.

on the ground that he was a native of Portugal, he had lived in Brazil since childhood and no one questioned his devotion to the cause of independence and the imperial government. This at least made him seem preferable to Gonçalves da Cruz, who, though he had recently turned imperialist, had first come to the United States in 1817 as the agent of republican rebels in Pernambuco, where there was now great unrest once more. Moreover, Rebello was well read in history and geography, was the author of a treatise on East Indian trade, and had gained useful experience in international affairs and a fair command of the English language through his service as a member of a mixed British-Brazilian claims commission.⁸ The government's high regard for him was shown by its choice of him for the important mission to Washington; and a few months later Raguet wrote from Rio, "I am told by Mr. Chamberlain, British Consul General, that he [Rebello] is unquestionably esteemed by this [the Brazilian] government as possessing the best diplomatic talents of any man here."⁹

II

According to Rebello's instructions,¹⁰ the principal object of his mission was to obtain from the United States "the solemn and formal recognition of the independence, integrity, and dynasty of the Empire of Brazil under the present Emperor and his successors, perpetually and without any reservation with regard to the title of Emperor." His instructions outlined the arguments to be used in support of the request for recognition: he was to warn the United States that if Brazil did not obtain in the American continent the support she needed, she would have to seek it in Europe, in which case the United States had better beware of France and England; to assert the right of Brazil to recognition in accordance with the principles stated in Monroe's message of December 2, 1823; and to convince the United States that the

⁸ Góes Carvalho, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii-xiv, and Accioly, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96; National Archives (Washington), Consular Despatches, Rio de Janeiro, Condé Raguet to Adams, January 20, 1824.

⁹ Historical Society of Pennsylvania, MS. Letter book of Condé Raguet, Raguet to Adams, November 8, 1824.

¹⁰ *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 10-18, dated January 31, 1824.

establishment of Brazilian independence was just and would be firmly maintained under a constitution and a representative government very similar to those of the United States itself. He was also instructed to "sound the disposition of that Government with regard to an offensive and defensive alliance with this Empire, as part of the American continent," and to cultivate the other American envoys at Washington, "always displaying a preference for them and affecting an exclusive partiality for the American System [*Politica Americana*]." He was forbidden, however, to make any commitments with regard to a commercial treaty, "of which this country [Brazil] has no need."

After recognition, his most important duty was to cooperate with a naval mission in obtaining ships in the United States for the Brazilian navy, and he was also told to encourage "capitalists, manufacturers, and entrepreneurs, especially those interested in steamships," to come to Brazil—at their own expense. If we add that his instructions required him to obtain the appointment of an American diplomatic agent to Brazil, to keep an eye on the Portuguese agents and the republican refugees from Brazil in the United States, and to cultivate the influential members of congress and journalists, "whom you will try to draw over to your side by the means usual in such cases," it will be seen that Rebello had his work cut out for him. But the court had done its part, for his instructions were drawn with remarkable skill and foresight.

After a few days spent in Baltimore, he went on to Washington, where he arrived on April 3, 1824. He promptly sent Secretary of State Adams a note enclosing his credentials and requesting an interview in his official capacity. On the advice of the Mexican chargé d'affaires, Colonel José Anastasio Torrrens, he also called at Adams's house (April 6). He left his card and was invited to a party there that evening, which he attended—"Mrs. Adams's party," her husband called it. What seems to have impressed the imperial envoy most about this occasion was its simplicity. The refreshments consisted of tea, coffee, sherbet, and inexpensive cakes. For entertainment, the guests danced to music furnished by one of their

own number at the piano. There were also card tables, but hardly anyone used them.¹¹

Rebello was a good diplomat, attentive to the social amenities as well as to the austere duties of his office. Yet his initial success, which was also the most important that he ever gained, only confirmed the prophecy made by Consul General Gonçalves da Cruz in July, 1823, that any prudent envoy could easily persuade the United States to recognize the Brazilian empire. Indeed, within three days after Rebello's arrival in Washington, and on the day before he had his first conference with Adams, the cabinet had already virtually settled the question in favor of the recognition of Brazil.

The decision was taken at a meeting held at the President's house on April 6.¹² Of the members present, only one—William Wirt, the attorney general—opposed recognition, and he opposed it on the ground that the form of the Brazilian government was monarchical. Not one of the other members supported Wirt; Calhoun demolished his argument, with the apparent approval of the rest of the cabinet; and the only absent member—William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury—subsequently made a strong plea for the immediate recognition of Brazil.¹³

Adams shared the general view that Brazil was entitled to recognition, and he strengthened its case by reminding the cabinet that the king of Portugal himself had raised Brazil to the rank of a kingdom in 1815. He pointed out, however, that the United States had never been "authentically notified" of the Brazilian declaration of independence and the establishment of the empire, and proposed, first, that he should be authorized to call upon Rebello for a written statement, "authenticated by documents," showing the *de facto* independence of the Brazilian empire, and, second, "that the recognition should be founded thereon." It was so ordered by the cabinet.¹⁴

In principle, it was thus agreed at the very outset to recognize the Brazilian imperial government, and apparently

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

¹² *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI, 281-282.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 319, 328.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 281-282.

nothing remained but for Rebello to go through the form of authenticating facts that were known to everybody; and so it turned out, except for a sharp but brief alarm towards the end of April. It is therefore unnecessary to follow the details of Rebello's negotiations with Adams. On the whole, the former conducted himself very creditably and made an effective presentation of Brazil's case. Sometimes, however, he wasted his breath, either in seeking to convince Adams that the monarchical form of the Brazilian government ought not to be an obstacle to its recognition by the United States (a point to which, though he could not know it, the cabinet had already agreed), or in talking largely but rather vaguely about a league of American powers in defense of the American system, with the United States at its head—a project which Adams of all people was most likely to regard as chimerical and which, as presented by Rebello, seems to have made little impression upon him. Rebello also wasted his breath in trying to convince Adams that the government of Brazil was really very much like that of the United States, although, to prove his point, he went so far as to say of the Emperor Pedro I (as was also said subsequently of Pedro II) that he was “the first republican in Brazil”—prudently adding “and perhaps the only one there is.”¹⁵

Sometimes, too, Adams and Rebello talked at cross-purposes, for their conversations were carried on in English, which, as Adams said without hyperbole, Rebello spoke “indifferently.”¹⁶ The language question caused the patriotic Brazilian a good deal of vexation, and he wanted very much to establish the rule of reciprocity, at least in written com-

¹⁵ *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 79-85; Accioly, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁶ Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 358. A fair sample of Rebello's English at the time of the conversations mentioned in the text is furnished by the following extract from his note of April 29, 1824, to Adams. After discussing the hesitancy of the United States in recognizing Brazilian independence, he continued: “Is it to be supposed that in this slowly going has the smallest influence the different political, and civil organization of the two countries? Not and positively not. The undersigned forms two a great idea of the liberality, and natural principles of liberty, engraved in every American soul to suspect, that the government of the United States is disconcerted with the idea, that every People has the right to govern himself as he thinks” (Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence*, II, 792-793).

munications. "I will write you in the Portuguese or Brazilian language," he proposed to Adams, "and you will write me in the English or American language." Thus, he said, the citizens of each country would be stimulated to learn the other's language, and a better understanding between them would be promoted. Adams, however, replied that he had no one in his office "sufficiently versed in the Portuguese language" to make satisfactory translations, and Rebello compromised by writing his notes in Portuguese but accompanying them with an English translation. Thus he satisfied his national pride and at the same time made himself fairly well understood.¹⁷

On April 20, Rebello submitted the documented statement requested by Adams.¹⁸ Recognition might have followed very shortly but for the almost simultaneous arrival of alarming despatches from Raguet and other sources, which gave some reason to suspect that the Emperor was neither master of the situation in Brazil nor sincere in his professed determination to maintain its independence against Portugal and the Holy Alliance. Although another despatch from Raguet soon quieted the alarm,¹⁹ there was a further delay while Monroe and Adams discussed the reciprocal appointment of an American chargé d'affaires at Rio (an appointment conferred several months later upon Condé Raguet) and obtained assurances from Rebello regarding the emperor's intention to abolish the African slave trade.²⁰

Finally, on May 26, Rebello was granted a formal audience in the "President's palace," as he called it. Adams presented him to the president as "the chargé d'affaires of the Emperor of Brazil." Summoning up his best English,

¹⁷ Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 283-284; Accioly, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

¹⁸ Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence*, II, 780-790, "Succinct and true exposition of the facts that lead the Prince, now Emperor, and the Brazilian People to declare Brazil a free and independent Nation."

¹⁹ Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 308, 311, 314. Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence*, II, 777-778, prints part of Raguet's disturbing despatch of March 8, but omits some of the passages that seem to have been most alarming to Monroe's cabinet, and also omits the postscript of March 20, added to the duplicate of this despatch, which did much to quiet the fears of the cabinet. The original is in its proper place in National Archives, Consular Despatches; the duplicate is not.

²⁰ *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 106-107, 115; Adams, *Memoirs*, VI, 354.

Rebello made a short speech in which he again suggested a "concert of American powers to sustain the general system of American independence." To this suggestion, says Adams, "the President did not particularly allude in his answer," confining himself to general expressions of interest and good will; but he spoke "with kindness, as usual."²¹ Concluding the despatch in which he described this interview to his government, Rebello wrote with evident satisfaction, "Thus was the Empire of Brazil recognized by this government on the fifty-ninth day after I landed at Baltimore."²²

While it is not within the purpose of the present paper to discuss the significance of this episode in the development of American foreign policy, it is not out of place to remark that Monroe and his cabinet seemed to agree with the Brazilian court that the Monroe Doctrine, far from banning monarchy from America, obligated the United States to recognize the monarchy of Brazil.²³ At any rate, neither Monroe nor Adams nor any other member of the cabinet controverted Rebello's argument to that effect, and within six months after the Doctrine was proclaimed, the United States gave important aid to the monarchy at Rio de Janeiro by leading all the world in recognizing it as the legitimate government of Brazil.

III

Now that the independence of Brazil had been recognized by the United States the court at Rio thought that logically

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 358-359.

²² *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 109-110. A good brief account of the recognition of Brazil by the United States is contained in William Spence Robertson, "The Recognition of the Hispanic American Nations by the United States," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, I (1918), 265-268.

²³ Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 95, says that the Monroe Doctrine contained a "proscription of monarchy from the New World"; at the end of note 66, page 96, he adds the qualifying phrase, "at least European monarchy." Yet on page 198 he remarks that in 1825 Clay, who was then secretary of state under Adams, wrote Rebello a note in which he "recognized by implication the applicability of Monroe's principles to the independent monarchy of Brazil." These statements raise questions that cannot be discussed here; they are discussed in my Albert Shaw lectures on early relations between the United States and Latin America, which were delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1938 and will be published in the near future. See also Julius Goebel, *The recognition policy of the United States* (New York, 1915), pp. 138-140.

the next step should be the formation of an alliance between the two countries. For the greater part of a year this matter held a place of great prominence in the correspondence between Rebello and his government, which based its argument for the alliance, as it had already based its argument for recognition, squarely upon the Monroe Doctrine. As is well known, the proposal was rejected by the United States.²⁴

The details of this familiar story need not be repeated here; but it is worth recording that, although in general Rebello seems to have merited the high opinion that his government had of his diplomatic talents, in this negotiation he failed in two respects to carry out his instructions. In the first place, he appears to have paid no attention to the injunction (contained in the foreign minister's letter of September 15, 1824) that he should sound out the American government before he submitted his proposals to it and that he should then propose only what he had reason to think it would agree to.²⁵ If he had obeyed this injunction, he would never have proposed an alliance at all.

The court did not reprimand him for this slip, which, in fact, it does not seem to have noticed; but it did reprimand him sharply for his other error, despite the fact that in this case Rebello had some reason to believe that his action was justified by his instructions. This was his suggestion to the United States that the proposed alliance with Brazil might be extended to include the new Spanish American states. When the suggestion was reported to the Brazilian court, the foreign minister wrote Rebello that it was displeasing to the emperor, since Rebello's instructions had not explicitly authorized him to make it, and since "it would not be convenient

²⁴ Perkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 195-200, describes this episode as an important stage in the development of the Monroe Doctrine.

²⁵ *Arquivo diplomatico*, pp. 23-25, Carvalho e Mello (minister of foreign affairs) to Rebello, September 15, 1824. This volume does not contain Rebello's despatch to the court of June 26, 1824, reporting his efforts to obtain a treaty with the United States apparently for the purpose of implementing his plan of a concert of American powers mentioned in his first audience with Monroe. The despatch is in Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827." On January 28, 1825, Carvalho e Mello repeated his instructions of September 15, 1824 (*Arquivo diplomatico*, p. 30).

for us to become involved generally with these [Spanish American] states.’²⁶

The latter statement is an interesting contribution to the history of the idea of the American System. The Brazilian court itself, in its instructions to Rebello, had ordered him to profess “an exclusive partiality for the American System [*Politica Americana*],” and to get in touch with the envoys of the other American states at Washington and always show a predilection for them; and it had also ordered him to “sound the disposition of [the United States] government towards an offensive and defensive league with this empire, as a part of the American continent.”²⁷ To be sure, circumstances had changed in the two years since those instructions were drawn up and Brazil was now on the eve of a war with one of the Spanish American states (Argentina); but the court had never altered this part of its instructions, and Rebello had a good deal of reason to think that a “league” based upon geographical proximity in the American continent and designed to implement the American System would naturally include not only Brazil and the United States but also the Spanish American states. The court at Rio thought otherwise; for, like John Quincy Adams, it gave much less than continental extension to the term “American System.” It soon found that even a dual alliance between the United States and Brazil was more than the former was ever likely to agree to; and on December 5, 1825, it ordered Rebello not to press the treaty proposal with “too much insistence.”²⁸

IV

One of Rebello’s most important duties was to obtain ships for the Brazilian merchant marine and navy.²⁹ The court was very desirous of establishing steamship service along the

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34, Carvalho e Mello to Rebello, May 14, 1825, No. 27.

²⁷ Italics inserted. The instructions are cited above, note 10.

²⁸ Arquivo do Itamaraty, “Estados Unidos, Registo,” Vol. I, Visconde de S. Amaro to Rebello.

²⁹ Just before he left for the United States, Rebello described this as the most important purpose of his mission, next to recognition (*Arquivo diplomatico*, pp. 78-79).

Brazilian coast, particularly between Rio de Janeiro and Pará. Rebello first tried Baltimore, from which a large part of the United States trade to Brazil was then carried on; but finding less capital and maritime activity there than he had expected, he turned to New York, where, he said, there was "more spirit of speculation than in any other port in the United States." Although the conditions stipulated in his instructions made it impossible for him to engage the two steamships desired by the court, he found that a group of New Yorkers headed by William Bayard had organized the "New York South America Steam Boat Association," which was already building a ship for service on the Amazon River. "If this experiment is successful," said Rebello, "we shall have all the steamboats we want."³⁰

Unfortunately, the experiment was not successful. Though Rebello gave the association a letter of recommendation to the authorities at Pará, the latter refused to let the ship proceed up the Amazon. Reporting this grievous disappointment to Rebello in September of the following year (1825), the president of the association attributed the refusal to the mistaken belief that "we have some understanding with Bolivar, and that our understanding is of a political nature." "Nothing," he protested, "can be further from the truth. I assure you that our object is solely mercantile." Rebello responded with another and a stronger letter of recommendation.³¹ But this, too, availed them nothing, and the New York company later filed a claim for \$150,000 damages against the Brazilian government on account of the expenses it claimed to have incurred on the strength of Rebello's assurances and recom-

³⁰ The most important documents on this subject were not published in *Archivo diplomático* but are preserved in Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827," and consist of the following: (1) Rebello to Carvalho e Mello, May 27, 1825, No. 23; (2) same to same, June 5, 1825, No. 24; (3) same to same, June 25, 1825, No. 25, enclosing (4) a letter from William Bayard to Rebello, May 25, 1825, and (5) Rebello's reply to Bayard, June 21, 1825; (6) Bayard to Rebello, September 14, 1826; (7) B. W. Rogers to Rebello, undated, probably September 22, 1826; and (8) Rebello's reply to the foregoing, September 25, 1826. Items 4 to 7 inclusive are copies in English. The court's instructions to Rebello regarding steamships are in *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 28, 29.

³¹ Item 8 in the preceding note.

mendations.³² Another forty years was to elapse before the opening of the Amazon to foreign navigation.

Rebello had much better luck with his commission for naval vessels, though in this case too he more than once encountered serious difficulties. His original commission was a large one, for he was instructed to obtain several frigates and eight brigs; and a Brazilian naval officer and a carpenter were sent with him as technical advisers.

In January, 1825, he signed a contract with Henry Eckford,³³ a well-known New York shipbuilder and a director of the Bank of the United States, to build "two frigates of the largest class, rated at forty-four guns, and fitted to mount sixty-two on two decks," at \$350,000 each. One was to be built at New York and the other at Baltimore, and both were to be completed and delivered by May 1, 1826. The contract price did not include guns, carriages, munitions, or armaments of any kind, and the ships were described publicly not as "frigates" but as "models of frigates." According to Rebello, this was done for two reasons: first, in order to avoid giving Portugal (which was still nominally at war with Brazil) any ground for protesting to the United States government against the construction of the frigates; and second, as a matter of both economy and national pride, since everything necessary for the armament of the ships could be provided in Brazil itself, and would be of better quality than could be found in the United States.

Rebello had warned his government that American ships were expensive, and it had replied that, no matter, the ships were needed as soon as possible and could be built more quickly in the United States than anywhere else. But when it received the contract with Eckford, it protested against the

³² Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação dos Estados Unidos na Corte, 1829-1833," William Tudor (American chargé d'affaires) to the Marqués de Aracaty, February 5, 1829, enclosing a petition from the South American Steam Boat Association.

³³ *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 137-141, contains Rebello's despatch about the contract, but not the contract itself or Rebello's supplementary despatch of February 26, 1825, No. 16. Both of the latter are in Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827." The contract is in English. For information about Eckford, see Robert G. Albion, *The rise of New York port* (New York, 1939), pp. 288, 289, 300, 310.

"exorbitant" price and reduced considerably the number of warships to be built in the United States. At the same time, it ordered the Brazilian agent in London, Baron de Itabayana, through whom payment for the ships was to be made, to reduce correspondingly the credit allowed Rebello for that purpose. The Baron, in an excess of zeal, notified Rebello that he would not be permitted to draw any further upon London even for the completion of the two frigates already contracted for. Rebello's credit in the United States was destroyed; but he was not to be trifled with. He had made the contract with full authority from his government and he had no intention of seeing his signature dishonored. So he drew on the Baron de Itabayana for the balance of £70,000 still due on the frigates, insisted that the court release him from the imperial service, and sent a despatch to this effect not by the usual roundabout way of London but by an American ship sailing direct from Baltimore to Rio de Janeiro.³⁴

His firm stand produced the desired result. Under orders from the court, his draft was honored in London and the two frigates were completed and sent on to Rio.³⁵ When the first of them arrived, the foreign minister wrote him that "His Majesty the Emperor was most highly satisfied" with the way in which he had discharged this mission because of the "beauty and perfection of the vessel."³⁶ The second frigate seems to have given equal satisfaction.

Nevertheless, his success in this affair recoiled upon Rebello when, about a year later, he protested to the secretary of state, Henry Clay, against the building of ships in the United States that might be used by Buenos Aires in its war with Brazil. Clay retorted that the Brazilian government itself had frequently had ships built in the United States and continued:

³⁴ Arquivo do Itamaraty, the following despatches from Rebello to the minister of foreign affairs: February 7, 1826, No. 37; May 29, 1826, No. 42; July 26, 1826, No. 43. Of these, only No. 42 is contained in *Arquivo diplomatico* (pp. 197-198).

³⁵ Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827," Rebello to the Visconde de Inhambupe, October 14, 1826, No. 45, and October 28, 1826, No. 46.

³⁶ *Arquivo diplomatico*, p. 40.

I have now before me, what I presume to be, a correct copy, of a letter from you, under date the 25th March, 1827, addressed to an eminent shipbuilder of the U. States [*i.e.*, Henry Eckford], in which you state that "having done with you, business to the amount of about \$900,000 in the two last years, I am absolutely satisfied with your conduct. The two vessels built by you for the use of my country, have been found not only by me, but also by competent persons at Rio de Janeiro, the *ne plus ultra* in their building."³⁷

He did not doubt, said Clay, that in obtaining this valuable addition to the naval force of Brazil, Rebello had observed all the laws of the United States. The Buenos Aires government, he concluded, had protested against the construction of these frigates; and the same impartiality that the United States had shown in permitting their construction to continue despite that protest now required it to allow Buenos Aires the same privilege under similar circumstances. This episode doubtless explains why, shortly thereafter, the documents relating to the construction of the frigates were taken out of the legation archives by Rebello and sent to Rio de Janeiro with the explanation that "the good of the Imperial service" required that they should not remain in Washington.³⁸

V

From 1825 to 1828 Rebello was occupied a great deal of the time with problems arising out of the war between Brazil and Buenos Aires. They can not be discussed here; but what he said about some of them is worth recording because of the light that it throws both on his personal character and on his political ideas. From this point of view, his most important communication to the United States government was one which it refused to receive.

This was a note, written in November, 1827, in which he protested violently against the "scandalous propensity" of the

³⁷ National Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, Vol. IV, Clay to Rebello, April 8, 1828. Rebello's reply to Clay, April 26, 1828 (*ibid.*, Notes from Brazil, Vol. I), does not deny the authenticity of the letter to Eckford quoted by Clay. English copies of both notes are in Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1828-1829." Cf. Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

³⁸ Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1828-1829," Rebello to Aracaty, July 26, 1828, No. 80.

people of the United States in favor of Buenos Aires in its war with Brazil, and more particularly against what he termed "the insults, ridiculous [*sic*] and sarcastic ideas printed in this country against the August Person of H.M. the Emperor of Brazil." Though he had formerly expressed the opinion that the foreign policy of the United States was determined by its economic interests, he now reproached it for sympathizing with Buenos Aires, with which it had an annual trade worth only one million dollars, rather than with Brazil, with which it had an annual trade worth four million dollars; and he plainly told Clay that "this hankering for the prosperity of the enemies of H.M. the Emperor" could be "attributed only to a Republican intolerance." Clay naturally refused to receive the note, and returned it to Rebello.³⁹

The most striking thing about the note is the highly undiplomatic violence of its reproaches against the people to whose government its author was accredited. His violence on this occasion might be regarded as the expression of a natural, though excessive, zeal for the cause of his country; but the same violence occasionally marked his conduct on other occasions of a very different character, as for instance his harsh treatment of his fellow countryman, Consul General Gonçalves da Cruz, which was disapproved by the Brazilian court itself.⁴⁰

Less striking but more important was his charge, in the note to Clay, that the preference of the United States for Buenos Aires over Brazil was due to "republican intolerance." That, certainly, was not an expression of mere patriotic resentment. Rather, it expressed a settled conviction, which Rebello had formed before the war with Buenos Aires began; and it is an interesting commentary upon his efforts to join the United States and Brazil together in defense of the American system, and upon his assurance to Adams and others that the politics of the two countries were substantially identical.

³⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66. The offensive note from Rebello to Clay, November 14, 1827, is in both Manning, *Diplomatic correspondence*, II, 862-864, and also *Archivo diplomático*, pp. 212-215.

⁴⁰ Accioli, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-138. National Archives, Consular Despatches, Rio de Janeiro, Raguet to the Secretary of State, March 11, 1825.

The truth is that the "republican intolerance" of the United States was one of his favorite themes, that he was conscious of a fundamental antagonism between the republican system of the United States and the monarchical system of Brazil, and that in his opinion, republicanism, especially as it was practiced in the United States, was a vicious system. Within a month after he was recognized as chargé d'affaires of the imperial government of Brazil, he was writing to Rio that the American people had a contempt for monarchies and that it was his task to "convert them and convince them of their political intolerance"—a task in which he said he expected to be aided by the rapid growth of Roman Catholicism in the United States.

But the best expression of his views is contained in a letter that he wrote after visiting four former presidents of the United States—John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. In some respects they made a favorable impression upon him: ". . . I found Jefferson a savant who still retains a revolutionary tinge; Madison, a courteous diplomat who has not forgotten that the flag covers the cargo; and Monroe, just what he is—an excellent man."⁴¹ The venerable Adams was so decrepit that Rebello had only half an hour's commonplace conversation with him.⁴² What impressed Rebello most was the fact that these four former presidents were all living in very modest if not straitened circumstances; and, to his mind, that proved that the republican system was all wrong.

This really poverty-stricken situation of the first persons of this country [he wrote] will prove to all the world that what is called modern republicanism is a source of wretchedness and therefore is clearly opposed to the holy purposes of the creation of this universe, in which the Supreme Being does not bring anything into existence in order that it may suffer; and [it will also prove] that modern Philosophy is a scandalous and stupendous aberration from the most elementary principles and from the obvious truth that all human institutions ought to have a direct tendency towards the satisfaction of moderate pleasures, which are essentially founded in virtue and hon-

⁴¹ Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827," Rebello to Carvalho e Mello, August 26, 1825, No. 28.

⁴² *Ibid.*, same to same, September 26, 1825, No. 30.

esty and which can only be obtained through riches or the accumulation of goods.⁴³

With this view of political science, the divine will and human destiny, the remarkable thing is not that Rebello was occasionally involved in difficulties with the American government, but that these difficulties were so few and that on the whole he served his government so well during the five years that he spent at Washington.

One of the last of his important services was rendered in connection with the first treaty of commerce between the United States and Brazil.⁴⁴ He did not negotiate it, for the court, which for various reasons did not wish to enter into such a treaty, hoped to postpone the conclusion of it indefinitely by conducting the negotiation at Rio. In January, 1828, however, the court was informed that the new American chargé d'affaires, William Tudor, was coming to Rio with instructions to insist upon a prompt settlement of the question. Deciding that the time had come to meet the wishes of the United States in this matter, the foreign minister, Marquis de Aracaty, sent Rebello urgent orders to prepare a report on commerce between the two countries for the guidance of the court in the coming negotiation. It was another mark of confidence in Rebello that the preparation of this important document was entrusted to him rather than to the Brazilian consul general, Francisco Joaquim de Lima, who had been at his post in the United States since 1826.

Rebello's report was soon completed. Among other things, it contained the interesting recommendation that neutral maritime trade with belligerents should be prohibited in order to get rid of the vexing question of whether the flag covers the cargo. On August 18, 1828, Aracaty acknowledged receipt of the report and said that proper use would be made of it when the negotiation with Tudor began, as it did shortly thereafter.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Rebello to the Visconde de Paranagua, March 4, 1826, No. 38.

⁴⁴ For the negotiation and terms of the treaty, see Vernon G. Setser, *The commercial reciprocity policy of the United States, 1774-1829* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 249-250, and Hunter Miller, "A Dispatch of William Tudor," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 55-60.

Upon its completion, Aracaty wrote Rebello—obviously for consumption in the United States—that the treaty was another proof of His Imperial Majesty's devotion to the American cause and of his desire to free America from the "tortuous and Machiavellian policy of Europe" so that it might enjoy the fruits of its soil and industry and live at peace with all the world. In March, 1829, Rebello had the satisfaction of exchanging ratifications of the treaty with the American secretary of state.⁴⁵

His successor José de Araujo Ribeiro arrived in Washington on August 11, 1829. Rebello presented him formally to Secretary of State Martin Van Buren, and then, on August 13, to President Jackson, Rebello himself acting as interpreter.⁴⁶ Thus, a little more than five years after he was received by Monroe in the audience that signified the formal recognition of the Brazilian empire by the United States, his mission was brought to a close.

Throughout his sojourn, he had taken a keen interest in the cultural and economic development of the United States—always, apparently, with an eye to the advancement of his own country. He had shown this interest in many ways; for instance, by visiting the local academy and museum upon his first arrival in Baltimore, by corresponding with the editor of a projected journal of political economy who was interested in Brazil, and by sending to the Brazilian court a blooded bull and two cows, models of cotton gins and other machines, and Edward Livingston's report on the codification of the laws of

⁴⁵ The documents mentioned in this and the preceding paragraphs are in Arquivo do Itamaraty. Aracaty's three notes to Rebello (January 16, August 18, and December 13, 1828) are in "Estados Unidos, Registo," Vol. I. Rebello's report, "Reflexões sobre Tratados de Commercio . . . relativas particularmente ao Tratado, que vai a fazer-se entre o Brazil e os Estados Unidos," an eight-page document enclosed in his despatch No. 74 of May 26, 1828, is in "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1828-1829." In "Consulado Geral nos Estados Unidos, 1822-1839," as well as in the volumes mentioned above in this note, there are many unpublished documents relating to commerce between the United States and Brazil in the period under consideration. A great deal of information on the same subject is contained in portions of Raguet's despatches from Rio de Janeiro omitted from Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence*.

⁴⁶ Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1828-1829," Rebello to Aracaty, August 20, 1829.

Louisiana.⁴⁷ When he returned to Rio, he brought with him a large collection of models of tools and machines, which was exhibited in the museum in a room set aside for that purpose by the Brazilian government;⁴⁸ he immediately took the lead in reviving and reorganizing the moribund Sociedade Auxilio á Industria e Mecanica; and a few years later he was one of the founders of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, which soon achieved high distinction among the learned societies of America. When Rebello died in 1844, the Institute, which has just celebrated its centenary, honored his memory with a funeral oration in which the speaker mentioned among his outstanding achievements the mission by which he had won the recognition of the Brazilian empire by the United States.⁴⁹

On the whole it was a fortunate thing for both countries that the first diplomatic contact between Brazil and the United States was established through the agency of such a man as Rebello. Despite certain temperamental defects of his own, and the not inconsiderable differences of criteria that existed between the two governments, his mission was a distinct success. The measure of his success is indicated and its value was enhanced by the simultaneous failure of his counterpart at Rio de Janeiro, Condé Raguet, the first diplomatic envoy of the United States to the independent government of Brazil.

Rebello's conduct was highly pleasing to his own government, which, when his mission as chargé d'affaires to the United States was about to be terminated at his own request—"This climate will be the death of me," he wrote from Washington⁵⁰—offered him the post of minister plenipotentiary to Colombia as a reward for his "effective services and con-

⁴⁷ *Arquivo diplomatico*, pp. 28 (Livingston), 40 (livestock), 79-85 (Baltimore academy and museum); Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Estados Unidos, Registo," Vol. I, Carvalho e Mello to Rebello, January 28, 1825, No. 20 (cotton gin, etc.), and *ibid.*, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827," Littleton Dennis Teackle to Rebello, Baltimore, May 24, 1824 (*sc.* 1825), copy in English (journal).

⁴⁸ Góes Carvalho, *op. cit.*, pp. xlii-xliii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xli.

⁵⁰ Arquivo do Itamaraty, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1821-1827," Rebello to Carvalho e Mello, February 26, 1825, No. 16.

spicuous patriotism."⁵¹ As his successor testified, he was highly esteemed at Washington too, and had formed excellent connections there.⁵² This universal esteem was well earned, for Rebello had promoted the national interests of Brazil with great energy and no little skill, and he had done all that could reasonably be expected of him to stress the identity of interests between his own imperial government and the republican government to which he was accredited.

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⁵¹ *Archivo diplomatico*, p. 50, Aracaty to Rebello, December 20, 1827. Though Rebello did not decline the appointment to Colombia at this time, he never went to that country. His successor at Washington was not appointed until the end of 1828 and he was then ordered to return to Brazil (*Arquivo do Itamaraty*, "Estados Unidos, Registo," Vol. I, Aracaty to Rebello, December 29, 1828).

⁵² *Ibid.*, "Legação Imperial nos Estados Unidos, 1828-1829," José de Araujo Ribeiro to José Clemente Pereira, August 20, 1829, No. 5.

SOME FOREIGN INFLUENCES IN CONTEMPORARY BRAZILIAN POLITICS

During the years 1933-39 much was said and written about foreign dangers to Brazil. Solemn and oftentimes vivid warnings tended to awaken in the people of the United States a feeling of possible peril to themselves and to their neighbors from foreign penetration in the Americas. It is difficult to evaluate these warnings accurately in view of the fact that an indeterminate portion was instigated by propaganda groups at the service of special interests.¹ While one school of thought in the United States foresaw a dark future for Brazil, another minimized the foreign danger on the grounds that it was deliberately exaggerated. The latter maintained that the Germans emphasized the threats to the American nations inherent in communism and democracy, while in the United States the danger from Nazism and Fascism was accentuated out of proportion to the real strength of these two movements. The over-accentuation was true particularly of that group which, under Russian inspiration, hailed itself as the defender of democracy. That this view might be well taken was demonstrated by the fact that the signing of the non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia in August, 1939, silenced the anti-Nazi, anti-Fascist propaganda of the Communist group. The school of belittlers thus shrugged off the question of foreign danger.

The problem is not quite so simple however. Whatever the causes, many of the American nations did become alarmed over foreign penetration. The object of the present article is to examine the situation in Brazil. Since quite obviously it would be impossible here to study all foreign influences in

¹ The material on which this article is based includes the year 1939. Although the past tense is used, the author does not wish to intimate that the situation described in this article ended with that year. Some of the trends may continue, some may not: no effort has been made to distinguish between them. Nor is there any intention on the part of the author to predict the future. (This article was written in December, 1939—Ed.).

Brazil, this discussion is limited to those nations whence immigration into Brazil occurred in sufficient numbers to create a body of nationals significant in proportion to the total population.²

More than 4,600,000 immigrants entered Brazil between 1820 and 1937 inclusive. Of these, 880,000 entered before 1890, and 3,722,000 from 1890 through 1937. The chief contributors to this immigration were:³

Italy	1,502,958	(32.6 per cent of the total)
Portugal	1,394,156	(30.3 " " " " ")
Spain	595,022	(12.9 " " " " ")
Germany	222,951	(4.9 " " " " ")
Japan	180,359	(3.9 " " " " ")

It is difficult to determine the proportion to the total population of the elements descended from the main body of immigrants listed above. With the total population of Brazil placed at approximately 42,000,000 in 1939, the following figures are as near an accurate estimate as it is possible to get at the present time:

Of unmixed Portuguese descent	5,000,000
Of Italian or half Italian descent	3,500,000
Of German or half German descent	900,000
Of Spanish, Slavic, Turkish, Syrian, etc., descent	2,600,000
Of Japanese descent	300,000
Total	12,300,000

Eliminating the Portuguese, we have 7,300,000 people of foreign descent, an element amounting to approximately one fifth

² Examples of authors who took a serious view of Nazi and Fascist dangers to the American nations are: Carleton Beals, *The Coming Struggle for Latin America* (Philadelphia, 1938); Pedro Motta Lima and José Barboza Mello, *El Nazismo en el Brasil* (Buenos Aires, 1938); Alfredo Gutiérrez, "La América Amenazada por el Fascismo," *Claridad*, Number 333-334 (Febrero-Marzo, 1939); and *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 204 (July, 1939), particularly the article by David Efron, "Latin America and the Fascist 'Holy Alliance'," pp. 17-25.

³ "Latin American Migration Statistics," *Commercial Pan America*, Number 87 (The Pan American Union, August, 1939). These are the official figures. The real figures are probably somewhat higher, but the number returning to Europe was large and no exact balance can be drawn.

of the total population. Moreover, a large proportion of this element is concentrated in the southern part of Brazil, in the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul, where the total population is approximately half that of the entire nation. In this area, therefore, those of foreign descent constituted about one third of the population. The proportion was even greater in São Paulo and the three southern states which had received the brunt of the immigrants. The tendency of the Brazilian population to shift to the south made the concentration of the non-Portuguese element still more significant. The following table⁴ of regional population percentages shows this:

Region	1872 %	1890 %	1920 %
Extreme North	3.3	3.3	4.7
Northeast	46.5	41.9	36.7
South	48.0	52.6	56.1
Center (Goyaz and Mato Grosso)	2.2	2.2	2.5

As used here "South" means Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, São Paulo, and the southern states.⁵

Brazil welcomed the immigrant. She was proud of her immense unoccupied spaces and wished to fill them with people. Brazilians admired the hard-working newcomer and lavished praise on the industrious Germans, Italians, Poles, and Japanese. High hopes were entertained that Brazil

⁴ F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Raça e Assimilação* (São Paulo, 1934), pp. 237-238.

⁵ Further information on immigration to Brazil is contained in Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, *The Brazilians and their Country* (New York, 1917), pp. 178-194; and L. E. Elliot, *Brazil Today and Tomorrow* (New York, 1922), pp. 56-75, who give an account of colonization and immigration during the 19th and 20th centuries. See also P. E. James, "Changing Patterns of Population in São Paulo State, Brazil," *The Geographical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1938), pp. 353-62. Mr. Charles Gauld of the Library of Congress has prepared a valuable but as yet unpublished article on "The Population of Brazil." See also Roy Nash, *The Conquest of Brazil* (New York, 1926), for a good discussion of all factors of Brazilian life. Also see Fernand Maurette and Enrique Siewers, "Immigration and Settlement in Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay: I," in *International Labor Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 2 (February, 1937), pp. 215-247. This article discusses the possibilities and conditions of further immigration into Brazil on technical grounds, but does not consider the political aspects of immigration. Brazilian immigration laws are also discussed.

was to eclipse the United States as a refuge for downtrodden mankind. As one writer phrased it:

It is said by the admirers of the magnificent North American Republic that its destiny, its mission, is to prepare through industry and wealth the democratic fatherland in which the proletarians, the disinherited of old Europe may rest. . . . We dream of an even more splendid mission for our own country; we wish to create here the democratic mansion of reconciliation . . . for all the disinherited of all the world and through the reunion and equality of all create the people of the future, drawn not from European, African, Asiatic, or American exclusivism, but the new type that is to be the perfect incarnation of the cosmopolitanism to come.⁶

Brazil had one of the requisites most important for such a paradise of ethnic fusion, almost complete freedom from racial prejudice. The color of the skin was not a factor in Brazil. As Alfredo Ellis, a Brazilian descended from those Southerners who fled the South after the Civil War, remarked:⁷ "We [Brazilians] never had, like the North Americans, this tortuous tendency for racial antagonism and hundred per centism."

Many Brazilians recognized the false science of racism for what it was, an instrument of would-be aggressors. As early as 1921 Afranio Peixoto said:⁸ "Race is an adjustment to environment. It is therefore not an immutable, but a transitory reality." The only question to ask about the immigrant, according to Bruno Lobo⁹ was: "Is he of the human species? Is he young? Can he work? Is he healthy? He is not a criminal? Then let him enter and may he be happy."

Despite such olympian conceptions of a super melting pot, Brazil had difficulties with her immigrants and had not yet found the alchemical formula to transform the base metal of human fiber into the twenty-four carat *homo sapiens*. Time had not been able to wipe out entirely the biological boundaries that separated the Mongoloid from the Negroid, nor

⁶ The Visconde de Avenel, *Historia do Brasil*, quoted in Arthur Guimarães, *Actualidades Brasileiras* (Porto, Portugal, 1915), pp. 13-14.

⁷ Alfredo Ellis, Jr., *Populações Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1934), p. 156.

⁸ Quoted in Bruno Lobo, *Japonezes: No Japão, No Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro 1926), p. 143.

⁹ Lobo, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

these from the Caucasian. In addition, Brazil was beset with comparatively minor differences that separated the Luso-Brazilians from those whose forbears came from Italy, Germany, or elsewhere.

The responsibility for the semi-failure lay partly with Brazil and partly with the immigrants. The immigrants were brought in more rapidly, perhaps, than they could be absorbed; but the system of colonization used since 1817, when the Swiss colony of Nova Friburgo was settled in the state of Rio de Janeiro, was the principal cause of Brazil's problems. Under this system of controlled immigration in which the newcomers were settled in colonies various nationalities (Germans, Italians, Poles, Japanese, and others) were granted land concessions and colonized in communities where they had little contact with Brazilians or with other immigrants. Some were located in mixed colonies, but thousands lived in areas which were foreign-language islands in the midst of the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. The concentration of immigrants in the southern part of the country accentuated the tendency to build up communities separate in many respects from those inhabited by the Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. It is hardly strange that there were many people born in Brazil who spoke only Japanese, or German, or Polish. They had never had an opportunity to learn the language of their native country.

There were many Brazilians who fully realized the mistakes of immigration policies. Manoel Bomfim, comparing Brazil's situation with that of the United States, remarked:¹⁰ "In less than half a century it [the U. S. A.] quadrupled its population without altering the natural line of the country's development. But the truth is that, with foresight, the Yankees . . . never turned over entire zones of the country to be opened up, peopled, and developed exclusively by Germans, Poles, and Italians, as did the incompetent Brazilian governors."

Whether the failure of Brazil to assimilate the immigrants constituted a political danger, is a question that cannot be answered without examination of such conditioning factors

¹⁰ Manoel Bomfim, *O Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935), p. 334.

as the political machinery, the influence that could be exerted by foreign powers, industrialization, and the Brazilian armed forces.

The outlines of the political system are well known. Brazil has had no national political parties. Instead she has had state parties dominated by rival *chefes*, or *coroneis*. As Pedro Calmon pointed out,¹¹ these *coroneis* were a revised version of the *capitães-móres* of colonial times; they were still "latifundarios," which made them "as much feudal lords as the *donatarios* of olden times." Their function was to win elections, and their strength was decisive in political matters. In 1843 the Minister Araujo Viana remarked¹² that "it is accepted unquestionably that when the local electoral boards are named, the representatives of the nation have already been elected." Changes occurred after 1843, of course, but the political *chefe* remained important. Significant to our discussion is the fact that the political *chefes* were on the whole members of the old Luso-Brazilian stock. This system made it very difficult for the immigrant to become a power in politics without first becoming a *chefe*. Although some did achieve this position, on the whole only a small percentage of those of non-Lusitanian origin gained key places in Brazil's political life before becoming thoroughly Brazilianized. Some of the exceptions to this rule are noted further on.

The political danger to Brazil lay in the weakness, indifference, and self-interest of those who ruled. While the old parliamentarianism persisted with its contempt for the masses, its electoral corruption, its rule of the oligarchs, its occasional resort to violence for the attainment of power, the extremists of the left and right appealed directly to the people, who were unprepared to choose wisely. A situation resulted wherein it might be possible for a determined minority to seize power. Brazilians apparently accepted the concept of government by the élite, rather than government by the people. Moreover, to many the idea of force was not entirely unwelcome. Thus was created a situation which was in many ways favorable to Fascism.

¹¹ Pedro Calmon, *Historia Social do Brasil* (2 vols., São Paulo, 1937), II, 301-09.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 306.

Since they had none anyway, most Brazilians of property could not be scared into opposing Fascism on the grounds that it would deprive them of their civil liberties. They could not see that Fascism would produce a decisive political change; on the contrary they saw in it a guarantor of their property and position. For this reason developments in the leading nations of the world where Fascism was an issue would have immediate repercussion in Brazil.¹³

The degree to which the immigrant might become a political danger depends to a certain extent on the speed of urbanization. Industrialization, attracting the workers to cities, aided assimilation since the rate of fusion in the cities was more rapid than in the rural districts, and the tendency to retain old national characteristics much less. If urbanization proceeded with sufficient rapidity and if the old political cliques faltered and lost power slowly, the immigrant might be fused so thoroughly that his coming to power would not be the triumph of foreigners, but merely of other Brazilians.

If the old political oligarchy should lose its power suddenly, however, the most likely heir to its position would be the army, still predominantly Luso-Brazilian in its officer staff. Officers formed a privileged class. They considered themselves a nobility. In order to protect their position they participated in politics. The army was perhaps the chief support of the Vargas regime. It is no exaggeration to say that in the eyes of the officers the nation was the servant of the armed forces. Again it is important to note that the officers were drawn almost exclusively from the upper-class Luso-Brazilians. The entrance of immigrants into this group may not have been impossible, but it was, to say the least, difficult. And while it was true that many officers had shown themselves sympathetic to Fascism and Nazism, the proportion was not alarming by 1939. Army dominance was a guarantee that foreigners could participate in politics only to a limited extent.¹⁴

¹³ See José Maria Belo, *Panorama do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936), pp. 5-67, for the elaboration of the idea of foreign influence on Brazil.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the position of the army in Brazil see João Pandiá Calogeras, *Problemas de Governo* (São Paulo, 1936), pp. 207-239.

Let us now see how the foreign elements listed at the beginning of this study might under the conditions just specified constitute important sources of danger.

Italy, Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Japan furnished about eighty-five per cent of the immigrants entering Brazil between 1820 and 1937. Immigrants came also from Syria, Yugoslavia, England, Lithuania, Rumania, France, Poland, Turkey, Austria, Russia, and other nations, but I have found no evidence to indicate that Brazil considered them as political problems. While their cultural assimilation was by no means complete in all cases, their political influence, if any, was not of a nature to cause alarm. Moreover of the five principal foreign elements neither the Portuguese nor the Spanish constituted a problem. The former caused trouble in the period following independence but by 1939 their assimilation was so thorough and so rapid that they were practically native Brazilians. The Spanish had likewise been assimilated rapidly. The Japanese, Italians, and Germans, however, have given rise to misgivings.

Japanese immigration began in 1908; before 1938 about 180,000 had entered the country. The attitude of the Brazilians toward the Japanese varied greatly from time to time. A great deal depended on whether the Japanese immigrant was considered as the advance guard of an army out to rule the world, or as excess population which Japan was glad to ship from her overcrowded shores.

In 1926 Professor Bruno Lobo strongly advocated¹⁵ Japanese immigration. In support of his position he says:¹⁶

There being no race prejudice among the Japanese . . . mixed marriages will be numerous. We know and have observed a great number of couples consisting of Japanese and Brazilians, with large, strong, healthy families. . . . After arriving in Brazil . . . they begin adapting themselves slowly to the conditions of the new environment. When they leave Japan and first arrive here they are all gravely courteous, whereas, after a period of residence in Brazil, among other transformations . . . they begin to greet one another and to salute with the proverbial slap on the shoulder and the infallible hug of our fellow countrymen. . . . They no longer think of the fatherland of

¹⁵ Lobo, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 172 and 173.

origin. They neglect their ancestral religion, contracting civil marriage, or marrying within any sect whatever. They change food habits, dress after our fashion, live in Brazilian style, and finally, principally in the north of Brazil, it is difficult to say whether we are in the presence of a Japanese, or of a native Brazilian *caboclo*. . . . There is nothing to fear from them from any international difficulty whatsoever.

Oliveira Vianna noted¹⁷ that the rate of assimilation of the Japanese seemed rapid, the number of mixed marriages reaching the extremely high rate of seventy-five per cent. These statistics are misleading, however, as most Japanese brought their wives. It was only the comparatively few who did not who married outside the Japanese settlers.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the attack on China in 1937 affected the Brazilian attitude toward Japanese immigration. In the Constitutional Convention of 1934, Xavier de Oliveira, advocating a ban on the Japanese, received strong support. His speeches, published¹⁸ in book form in 1937, helped create a Japanese alarm of the first order. Several newspapers reproduced with scareheads a map of Japanese settlements and land concessions included in the book. The *Jornal do Commercio*¹⁹ of Rio de Janeiro labeled the map "The Japanese Infiltration into Brazil," and the *Folha do Povo*,²⁰ also of Rio de Janeiro, splashed it across the front page with the alarming title of "Japan Invades Brazil." Oliveira also quoted from the Tanaka Memorial to show Japan's intention of conquering the world. He cited the participation of the Japanese in the election of 1934 with candidates of their own nationality and campaign platforms and literature printed in the Japanese language. At the same time the General Staff of the army became alarmed about the possible military implications of the Japanese settlers because of their concentration in a few strategic areas.

The Italians were the most numerous of all the immigrants. Approximately one third of all who entered after 1820 came from Italy. About thirty-eight per cent of the people of the

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ *O Problema Imigratorio na Constituição Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1937).

¹⁹ August 15, 1937.

²⁰ September 10, 1937.

state of São Paulo in 1939 were of Italian origin. Little alarm was felt concerning them until after 1922. The Italians were considered the best example of the fusibility of the immigrant. Alfredo Ellis in his study of the people of São Paulo had little but praise for them. "Everywhere," he noted,²¹ "one sees children of the Italians perfectly assimilated. . . . Even in our legislative bodies . . . there are descendants of Italians in perfect homogeneous mixture with 'hundred per cent' Paulistas, sharing the spirit of São Paulo in a harmony and unanimity that is truly impressive." Ellis emphasizes this point saying:

Today they are in good condition. They have grown rich and are in easy circumstances for the greater part. They are proprietors, and many of them who came as children several decades ago, are venerable patriarchs. They are even respectable *coroneis* in the interior, and influential political *chefes*, molded according to the Paulista pattern. . . . Their children are magnificent Paulistas, their grandchildren are even better patriots. . . . They are municipal aldermen in the interior, or members of the committees of the rival political parties. They are married with Paulistas of the most accentuated *caboclo* stock.

This was true of the pre-war immigration. Of the post-war immigration Ellis remarked:²³

Those of today are the exact antithesis. . . . They have their national mentality now strongly rigid. . . . They form a circle around the old Italians who are enriched and incompletely assimilated, and they make of the consulate something of a central sun of Italianism, from which they attempt to radiate the propaganda enjoined on them by the bombastic speeches of Mussolini. These are deep-dyed Italians and are the least stable of the foreigners who come to us. They are unassimilable. No love retains them here, no single tie binds them to us. It is an element that is even undesirable and pernicious because it attempts to arouse the extinct spirit of Italianism in the old Italian group, retarding the assimilation of latest arrivals who are not deeply impregnated with the spirit of São Paulo. These people came late, however. The true wave of Italian immigration is already ours.

²¹ *Populações Paulistas*, p. 231.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.

Pandiá Calogeras in 1926 warned²⁴ of what the consequences might be if Italy tried to exert political influence in Brazil.

To act in a way that might disturb [the existing] atmosphere would be the gravest error that could be committed. And this is what would happen if Fascism should consider applying in foreign countries the processes in force in the motherland. And still more if, with the vain intent of maintaining alive and cohesive the national feeling on a foreign soil . . . [Fascism] should attempt to perform acts of sovereignty.

There is considerable evidence to indicate that Italy did not heed this warning by Calogeras. The Italian minister, Grandi, informed the Italian Parliament in 1927 that "the Italian colonies in foreign countries should be small fatherlands, and the person designated to represent the sovereignty should, in this sense, carry out his part faithfully. The former 'Commissariat of Emigration' is transformed into a 'Directory of Italians in Foreign Countries.' Emigration has become a political function." One of the members of the Commissariat, Celestino Arena, remarked that "from now on there will be only Italian citizens, subject to the instructions of diplomats and consuls of the country, and charged with the duty of defending the flag and the fatherland in foreign territory." The Italian writer, Pertile, justified this policy with the assertion that the government should give the emigrant every aid to enable him to resist assimilation.²⁵

In line with this policy, the embassy and consulates of Italy in Brazil were made Fascist propaganda and organization centers. At the time Calogeras was warning Italy about the "gravest error that could be committed," Italy was already embarked on a campaign calculated to maintain the allegiance of the Italo-Brazilians to Italy. The methods used were free visits and scholarships to Italy for Italo-Brazilians, subsidization of teachers and schools among the Italians in Brazil, and the organization of numerous clubs for centers of propaganda. By 1937 the Italians had organizations in practically every district of São Paulo, most of them being Dante

²⁴ João Pandiá Calogeras, *Estudos Históricos e Políticos* (São Paulo, 1936), p. 306.

²⁵ Julio de Revorêdo, *Imigração* (São Paulo, 1934), pp. 279-81.

Alighieri societies. The consulates coöperated actively with the Fascist party. They made no secret of the fact. The Fascist agents also coöperated with the *Integralista* Party, the two holding parades and demonstrations together. In one such demonstration in Pôrto Alegre on August 9, 1937, a fight with other elements of the population resulted in one death.

It is very doubtful, however, whether the results obtained were commensurate with the efforts expended. As Ellis observed, the weight of evidence makes it appear that the bulk of the Italo-Brazilians remained loyal to Brazil.

The German element caused greater alarm than did the Italian although by 1938 only 222,951 Germans had entered the country as against 1,502,958 Italians. The alarm resulted from the marked failure of the assimilation process, evidenced by the use of schools, churches, clubs, and political parties as a means to maintain the German spirit.

Germans were encouraged to come in the nineteenth century and permitted to come freely during the twentieth. They settled principally in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, but also in Paraná and São Paulo. Their prosperity in these regions was undeniable, and the Brazilians had little but praise for their qualities as individuals.

The degree of German assimilation is difficult to determine. The official statistics do not specify the origins of Brazilians who marry. Thus a marriage between people apparently Brazilians might be in fact the marriage of people of German origin, living in a German region where German only is spoken. Oliveira Vianna in his work *Raça e Assimilação* concludes²⁶ that, while the Germans were fusing, the process was slow. Alfredo Ellis remarks²⁷ concerning the Germans of São Paulo: "Even before Germany became a unified Empire . . . the Germanic element resisted letting itself be absorbed easily. . . . If [the Germans] were more numerous among us, the German spirit would be maintained with much greater persistence. Is this not what is seen in Santa Catarina?" He found that in São Paulo the Germans showed less tendency to intermarry than did the Italians, the Portuguese, or the Spaniards, and even less than the Syrians.

²⁶ Pp. 158-63.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 216-219.

German activity after 1933 steadily increased Brazil's apprehension. As one writer who acknowledges his close attachment to the concept of Germanism says,²⁸ there was no distinction between Germans and German-Brazilians before 1933, but

after 1933 the German citizens of Brazil—as everywhere else—formed National-Socialist associations to express their solidarity with the fatherland. The primary principle, to which every member pledged himself, was non-interference in the political affairs of the country in which he was living, and strict obedience to her laws. The German-Brazilians were purposely excluded from the associations of German citizens in order that there should be no conflict with their civil obligations as citizens of Brazil.

These Nazi organizations alarmed many Brazilians. They failed to comprehend what manner of men these were who had to form clubs in order to obey the law! According to the German author whom we have just cited, the clubs had no political significance, “the German fatherland had merely exercised a cultural guidance over descendants of its emigrated subjects, but had refrained from the slightest political paternalization.” This last statement was generally disbelieved in Brazil. As early as the spring of 1933 the Nazis began discriminating against Germans and German-Brazilians in business who refused to adhere to the Nazi movement. It is from this same date that the intensified effort to use the schools, churches, clubs, and political parties for Nazi purposes was most noticeable.

The schools were an important link in the Germanization efforts. There were perhaps not fewer than two thousand schools in Brazil in which instruction was in German rather than in Portuguese. The exact number is not known, but reports from Rio Grande do Sul place the number there alone at two thousand, while Santa Catarina had certainly more than two hundred. Paraná and São Paulo had others. Germany was contributing directly to the support of fifteen schools in 1937 and had plans for supporting 150 schools in Rio Grande alone. In the German-language schools the Nazis

²⁸ Reinhard Maaek, “The Germans of South Brazil—A German View,” *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, No. 3 (July, 1939), pp. 5-23.

sought to introduce the teaching that Germany had a mission to Germanize the world. They also tried to supplant loyalty for Brazil with loyalty to Germany. There are at least a few cases on record where students were expelled from the schools for speaking Portuguese. The German consulates aided the Germanization drive of the schools. In most cases, however, the teachers, while not rejecting Germanism which is much older than Nazism, refused to take up the National Socialist doctrine.

The churches furnished the Germans both before and after the rise of Nazism a medium for the Germanization drive. Sermons were preached and church services held in German, even when the congregation understood Portuguese. At times separate services were held for the German and Portuguese speaking members. In the state of Santa Catarina twelve of the seventeen vicars were German in 1937, and the vicar general was German. In some churches Nazism was preached from the pulpit, and the bulletins of the Nazis were posted on the bulletin boards of the churches. German-Brazilian ministers attended congresses of overseas Germans held in Germany, where they discussed Brazilian problems. Churchmen who refused to conform were sometimes displaced. Both Protestants and Catholics attended meetings held in Germany.

German influence was also felt through the press. Besides the numerous articles published in the Portuguese-language papers and magazines of Brazil, there were in 1937 ten daily newspapers and forty periodicals published in German.²⁹

One of the principal channels for Nazism and for the maintenance of the allegiance of the Germans was the club. There were in 1937 about 320 German-Brazilian and German clubs in the three southern states. The Brazilians frequently asked the question: have these clubs not a significance deeper than their surface social functions? From the 1914-1918 World War down to 1933 there was little if any political significance in such clubs, but after Hitler came to power in Germany the situation changed. German activity of a type that alarmed many Brazilians became evident. The German attachment to the concept of *Deutschtum* and the slogan *Bleib Deutsch*

²⁹ Maack, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

appeared the very opposite of the Brazilian concept of one united people resulting from the mixture of all national and racial elements in Brazil. Nor did the German acceptance of double citizenship lessen Brazilian alarm. The German-Brazilians born or naturalized in Brazil were considered citizens of Brazil, but under German law they were permitted to retain their German citizenship. And the Brazilians could point to evidence that Germans were encouraged by Germany to become naturalized Brazilians for convenience, while retaining their German citizenship and loyalty.³⁰ The Brazilians remember too that prior to the 1914-1918 World War there was an intense Germanization drive, and that a German party in Brazil in 1917 advocated German intervention.

The German clubs indicated that a spirit of Germanism, quite opposite to Brazilianism, existed among those of German descent; and after the rise of Hitler an effort was made to utilize the clubs as centers of National Socialism. The technique was to join the clubs, become active in their affairs, attempt to assume the direction, and then persuade the club members to affiliate with German organizations which had sworn allegiance to Hitler. The Nazis were by no means successful in all cases, as Reinhard Maack admits when he remarks³¹ that "due to misunderstandings, German citizens and German-Brazilians have frequently found themselves in opposite, hostile camps." An example of the trouble caused by such tactics may be seen in the case of the Turner-Bund, a sport and social club of long standing. The Nazis attempted to have the club make an open declaration in support of Hitler and Germany and adhere to other societies giving allegiance to Berlin. In November, 1937, the secretary of the Turner-Bund estimated that seventy-five per cent of the members were opposed to such a course.

³⁰ For an excellent study of the Germans in Brazil see "A Colonização Alemã no Brasil," *O Observador Económico e Financeiro*, No. 33 (Outubro, 1938), pp. 107-39. Much of the information in this article was drawn from confidential Brazilian sources. The most complete bibliography of the Germans in Brazil is by Reinhard Maack and Alexander Marchant, *German, English, French, Italian and Portuguese Literature on German Immigration and Colonization in Southern Brazil* (reprinted from *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1938*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939).

³¹ Maack, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

As a part of the *Bleib Deutsch* campaign a map prepared by Hugo Grothe of the Institute of Foreign Information of Leipzig was distributed in Brazil by the Norddeutscher Lloyd Bremen Steamship Company showing regions where German "majorities" and "minorities" were settled. Some fifteen or more towns in Rio Grande do Sul were listed as having German majorities, while others were listed as having German minorities. This incident produced widespread comment in the Pôrto Alegre papers during December, 1938.

The most direct form of German activity was political. This work was carried on by Germans sent from Germany, and by German-Brazilians who coöperated with them. Dr. Heinrich Hunsche, one of the National Socialist organizers, indicated the nature of his objectives when he complained of the absorption of many of the German-Brazilians in business to the exclusion of political interests, and called for their participation in Brazilian life in a manner that would "have a decisive influence in Brazilian political affairs." In line with German purposes a National Socialist Party was organized in Brazil, and Hans von Cossel was made its leader. This organization gained such influence among the Germans that some Germans were known to go to the Party agents rather than to the German consuls when they needed aid, and Germans obeyed the Party at considerable personal sacrifice. In 1937 Herr Friedrich Thiss went to Brazil as the personal representative of Hitler with the object of controlling the Germans of South Brazil, including those of the third and fourth generation born in Brazil. The National Socialists were strong enough in Blumenau, Santa Catarina, to censor the mail there, and the German colonies of the interior of Brazil were kept in an almost permanent state of agitation by the activities of the Nazis and their opponents who were anti-Nazi.

Much of the work carried on by Germany was through the *Circulo Teuto-Brasileiro de Trabalho* with its center in Berlin. It was founded in 1935 in Germany by a group of Teuto-Brazilians. The head of the *Circulo* was Dr. Heinrich Hunsche, and among the Teuto-Brazilians who helped him were Gerhard and Gottfried Dohms, Fritz Sudhaus, Dr. Karl

Oberacker, and others. The *Circulo* had forty-four members of whom twenty-nine were Brazilian born, thirteen Germans and two Paraguayan-Germans. Many Brazilian-Germans, including teachers, clerics, and professional men, were present at its meeting in Germany in 1937. After the meeting of the third annual congress in Germany in 1937 the *Circulo* edited a special circular letter in which a number of important articles and statements were included. These had been delivered originally as speeches. In one of the speeches by Rudolf Bothke on "The Mission of the New Teuto-Brazilian Generation" the speaker asked the members of the *Circulo Teuto-Brasileiro de Trabalho* if they were disposed to accept the Nazi concept of life, or to be merged in the Brazilian melting pot. "Through me," he said, "a whole people speaks to you, I can say, even, that I represent generations. Generations that have gone and those to come." Speaking of the German element in Brazil he stressed that, "we wish it to remain a German ethnic group" and to this end German-Brazilians must do their work so well that one day they would be able openly to acknowledge their attachment to the ethnic concept and forever end the uncertainty in which they had lived, and the threat to their existence in Brazilian soil. The National Socialist ethnic concept applied to the German-Brazilians as well as to the Germans. "We swear unconditional fidelity to our German ethnic group." All that was done in Germany was in preparation for future action in Brazil. "Faith in the eternal existence of our race in Brazilian territory, should, therefore, be unquenchable for us." The object was "to see that the Brazilian State recognize officially the ethnical solidarity and the cultural liberty of Teuto-Brazilianism." The coöperation of all was necessary and there must be a political organization to influence Brazil.

It is undeniable that the Germans were active in Brazil; the success of their efforts is subject to debate. While it is evident that certain members of both Protestant and Catholic churches coöperated with the Nazis, it is equally clear that there were important sections of both churches that did not adhere to Nazism.

The younger elements, whether born in Germany or Brazil, were conspicuous in the Germanism movement, but here again a universal statement is unfounded. Perhaps as many as half or even more of the estimated five hundred thousand of German descent in Rio Grande do Sul were anti-Nazi. Against this must be balanced the fact that some people of German descent played a part in the politics of South Brazil. In 1937 the mayor of Porto Alegre and other officials were German-Brazilians, and in Santa Catharina where the National Socialists were very strong, many German-Brazilians held offices as municipal *prefeitos*, at least some of whom gave their support to the Nazis. In São Paulo the evidence is equally conflicting. It is difficult to determine whether only five per cent gave allegiance to National Socialism while the other ninety-five per cent detested it, as some Brazilian officials state, or whether the Nazi elements among the Germans amount to as much as ninety per cent, as others asserted. There also arises the question of the degree of Germanization among the urban and rural Germans respectively. The bulk of the evidence would seem to indicate that allegiance to Germanization was in direct ratio to isolation, the rural Germans remaining German longer than those who lived in the towns. Some of the cities that were almost purely German in population would be exceptions to this statement.

There are other factors that bear on the degree of Germanization. The Brazilian anthropologists who once hailed assimilation as a fact because the statistics indicated such a high degree of mixed marriages, discovered that the statistics were unreliable owing to the failure of the records to indicate national origins. Reversing themselves they then insisted that failure to intermarry was an indication that the persons involved remained completely German. Too much emphasis was placed on the supposed immutability of nationality, and what was falsely labeled race, and too little on the adjustment to environment that the immigrant necessarily makes. It is possible that even where no intermarriage took place, many of the second and third generations were more Brazilian than German. While it is difficult for a people to change

national characteristics because of the weight of tradition, custom, family, literature, folklore, inertia, schools, and other factors, it is equally difficult to retain characteristics unadulterated when environment is changed radically, as in the case of the Germans (and other immigrants) who moved to Brazil. However much they might have wished to remain Germans, however much encouragement they received from the homeland, the new country to which they went tended to negative the desired result. This factor was one that raised important obstacles in the path of Hitler (or in the case of other nationalities, of Mussolini or the Japanese).

One further point is pertinent. The immigrants in Brazil were not persecuted or segregated. They were welcomed. This made it exceedingly difficult for "liberation" or "minority" agitation to have much effect. Without stimulus from the homeland the immigrant tended to acclimate himself fairly quickly to his new country, and if the stimulus for retaining allegiance to a homeland was applied from the outside, the opposition of the Brazilians was aroused to the implied dangers.

These are but a few of the considerations that made the Nazi, and Fascist, efforts in Brazil only partly successful. While there is no doubt that a great many of the newly arrived Germans were Nazis, as were many of the older settlers, there was much opposition to Nazism among both the older and newer arrivals. The reaction of the older German-Brazilians to the Nazis was frequently: "If you don't like this country, go back to where you came from." Still another difficulty of the Nazis was the fact that many of the German immigrants were Jews, although this point was never advertised by Messrs. Rosenberg and Streicher. Most of the Jews were assimilated, but they nevertheless offered resistance to Nazi propaganda. Dr. Blumenau himself, founder of the city of Blumenau, was a Jew.

The German spirit that alarmed Brazil is well expressed by a German geographer, Reinhard Maack, whose article in *The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations* for July, 1939, has already been cited. He divides the Germans of

Brazil into groups, those of German "blood" born in Brazil, and the *Reichsdeutsche*, born in Germany. Herr Maack's attitude toward these two groups illustrates why Brazilians at times feared a German danger. Concerning the law that made children born of German parents in Brazil citizens of Brazil, he remarks that the regulations of the Brazilian government "cannot destroy the national unity of all Germans, bound together by common blood ties and a common culture. A German remains forever a German in a national sense, regardless of the country to which his destiny has led him or on what continent he was born." Herr Maack's theme is the immutability of German "blood." This was particularly distasteful to a people for whom miscegenation was a national ideal. He goes so far as to speak disparagingly of "persons of German blood who do not speak German." His methods of classification are suspect, however. They resemble those by which the Nazis reckon thirty-two million Germans in the United States. If the same methods were applied universally, the present writer might find himself in the census lists of the French, Irish, English, Germans, and Choctaw Indians.

But Herr Maack vitiated his own arguments. In spite of his emphasis on "blood," he remarks:

In the cities, biological vigor and national resistance is much weaker than in the compact agricultural settlements. Economic success in commerce and industry eliminates to a large extent the need for physical labor, and therefore, the necessity for a like-minded marital companion, while the higher social position facilitates access to the Luso-Brazilian society. Thus we frequently find among the German intelligentsia, which ought to provide intellectual leadership for the simple German-Brazilian peasantry, definite national decadence, a greater inclination toward mixed marriages, and quicker adaptation to Luso-Brazilian civilization.

Both Nazism and Fascism attempted to influence Brazil through the medium of the *Integralista* Party. This party was organized along national, rather than state, lines, and was indeed the first nation-wide party in Brazilian history. To accentuate its claims of being the only national (and nationalistic) party, it tried to identify itself with everything Brazil-

ian. Although it was a "shirt" movement, thereby qualifying for membership in the "Textile Internationale," its adoption of green as its color identified it with the predominant color of the Brazilian flag. It reached into the Greek alphabet and transformed the hitherto neutral *Sigma* into a political symbol, using it as Hitler uses the swastika. It also plucked from a Guarani-Indian dictionary the word *Anaué* for salute, although many enthusiastic Integralists preferred the honest confession of *Heil Hitler*.

Moreover, its program was borrowed unblushingly from Fascism and Nazism, and the motherlands of these political movements were frankly favorable to Integralism. The numerous resemblances to Nazism and Fascism serve as a part of the evidence of the close tie between them. For example, although Integralism could hardly adopt a thorough-going racialism with Brazil as the environment of its action, it was violently anti-Semitic, publishing the anti-Semitic propaganda emanating from Germany. It also attacked capitalism, communism, liberalism, the French Revolution, protestantism, England, France, Japan, the United States, and Russia. As an example one may cite the work of Affonso de Carvalho,³² an Integralist. The author vigorously attacks England, France, the United States, and Russia, and condemns every liberal movement since the French Revolution. He discourses bitterly on the foreign peril but never once does he mention a German or Italian danger. All others he attacks; for the Germans and Italians he has naught but praise.

Integralismo boasted openly of its Fascist character. Explaining that the original Fascism was that of Mussolini in Italy, Gustavo Barroso, second in command in *Integralismo* to the leader Plinio Salgado, correlated Integralism with what he called other Fascist movements throughout the world. In a work entitled, *O Integralismo e o Mundo*, he wrote:³³

The object of this book is to demonstrate the amplitude of the manifestations of these ideas in the world, from Asia to America, so that we may see the impelling force and feel the grandeur of the movements of Fascist character which are thriving in all nations. . . . Of

³² *O Brasil não é dos Brasileiros* (São Paulo, 1937).

³³ Rio de Janeiro, 1936, pp. 15-18.

all the movements of Fascist character . . . Brazilian Integralism is the one that contains the largest measure of spiritualism and the most perfect body of doctrine. . . . Integralism defends the basic principles of western Christian civilization. As these principles are fundamental in all, or almost all of the movements called Fascist, it is natural that Integralism coincides with them here and there. . . . Let us take as an example Integralism, Italian Fascism, and German Nazism. The three have the following points of contact: in the field of the spiritual they are the reaction of spiritualism against materialism, of nationalism against internationalism, of Christian idealism against Jewish-Puritan rationalism [*naturalismo*]. In the economic field they are reactions of production against speculation, and of property against predatory capitalism. In the social field they are reactions against the unilateral doctrines of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, liberalism, and communism. In the moral field, they are reactions of the noble sentiment of honest work and Christian sacrifice against the enjoyment [*o sentido*] of material pleasure and the dishonorable utilitarianism of the Judaized and paganized bourgeoisie.

Although the Integralists insisted that their movement had no direct tie with Germany and Italy, there was nevertheless a close connection between the activities of Integralists, Nazis, and Fascists. Active Nazi and Fascist propaganda was carried on among the Germans and Italians, and many of the leaders of the Integralist Party were German- and Italo-Brazilians, although Plinio Salgado and Gustavo Barroso³⁴ were both Luso-Brazilians. Reinhard Maack insists that fifty-five per cent of the Integralist leaders in Rio Grande do Sul were German-Brazilians.³⁵ Many others were Italo-Brazilians. The two elements thus constituted the preponderant influence in the Integralist movement. The alarming results which this influence might have were accentuated by the fact, mentioned earlier in this paper, that many German- and Italo-Brazilians, although born in Brazil, considered themselves citizens of Germany or Italy. Here, as elsewhere, lack of unity lessened the danger to Brazil. Many of the Nazis, for example, considered Integralism as a rival and not as an ally. The race concepts were direct opposites, the Nazis preaching race purity and the Integralists advocating assim-

³⁴ Barroso's mother was of German origin.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

lation. The objectives of the two coincided in the most important particular—they both intended to seize the country.

Nazism and Fascism used Integralism as an instrument for their own propaganda. While no central coördinating body for the three existed, Nazis and Fascists encouraged the Integralists. In Rio Grande do Sul the Nazi chieftain, Walter Hornig, although he had no open connection with Integralism, was on friendly terms with its leaders and gave his informal support. Some individuals were, however, members of both the Nazi and Integralist organizations. One of the official Integralist handbooks by Miguel Reale, *A.B.C. do Integralismo*, was issued also in German.

The Brazilian monthly review *O Observador Econômico e Financeiro* published the results of an investigation made by it into German activities in Brazil. This information in part was gathered on the ground by its own representatives and in part was derived from reports made by the Brazilian police. Concerning the connection between the Nazis and the Integralists, *O Observador*, after first giving a list of the Nazi leaders in the various regions of Brazil, remarks: "The utilization of a national party whose connections with Nazism are very well known—Integralism—was not disdained. An abundant documentation has been displayed in the now extinct Congress, in the newspapers, in books and in the very confessions of the agents of infiltration." *O Observador* adds³⁶ still further: "As a method of penetration, the agents of infiltration use a legal form for the penetration of their hegemony in the German colonial region. And this form was Integralism."

The Integralists floated a bond issue of six thousand contos in 1937, to be paid off when they took over the State. Some of the bonds were discounted in the German Transatlantic Bank of Rio de Janeiro.³⁷ They also received indirect financial aid from the German and Italian governments. The connection between the Integralists and Vargas before (and for a time after) the *coup d'état* of November 10, 1937, was close.

³⁶ Outubro, 1938, Anno 3, No. 33, pp. 138-39.

³⁷ See the *Correio da Manhã* of Rio de Janeiro, September 15 and 21 and October 27, 1937; and also *A Nota* of Rio de Janeiro, September 16, 1937.

Vargas was in constant touch with them, receiving Plinio Salgado at the Catete Palace and reviewing Integralist parades. The Integralists received financial aid from the government, coöperated with Vargas in the November 10 coup d'état, were offered a position in the *Estado Novo*, and expected to be treated as an exception in the decrees abolishing political parties. Vargas later turned on the Integralists probably because he regarded their demands for power as excessive, because he decided against aligning Brazil with the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis, and because he found that the Integralists were not as strong as they had represented themselves.

The Integralists were outlawed as a political party along with the other parties in December, 1937, but did not disband. Although they continued ostensibly as a cultural society, in reality they were still a political organization. They promoted uprisings in March and again on May 11, 1938. After the second attempt a number of their leaders were arrested, among those accused being several Germans known to be connected with the Nazi movement in Brazil. The party ceased to exist in 1938, at least as a legal movement.

The cumulative effect of the various activities outlined above created a considerable alarm which was reflected in the political life of the country. Before the Integralist revolt of May 11, 1938, the German ambassador on the grounds that the decree applied to domestic parties only protested against inclusion of foreign political groups in the banning of political parties. The attempt to secure special privileges for foreign political parties, activities of which were directed against the government, when domestic parties had been abolished, further increased the uneasiness of many Brazilians. This demand on the part of the German ambassador, Dr. Karl von Ritter, created a situation where the ambassador became *persona non grata* to the Brazilian government. He was given to understand that no Nazi activities would be countenanced.

At about the same time the Nazi agent, Ernst Dorsch, was arrested and the government continued its campaign against

Nazis and Fascists, inspired largely by the alarm felt by the Brazilian army. This alarm was heightened by the knowledge that some German-Brazilians in the south were discussing the possibility of setting up an Integralist-Nazi-Fascist state in southern Brazil, the three southernmost states, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina and Paraná to be turned over to German domination and São Paulo to Italian control. It is not possible at this time to verify whether any such plans were being fostered by Germany and Italy, but it is possible to say that high officials in both the national and state governments of Brazil thought so, and their political actions were based on the belief that the reports were true. A decree was issued on April 18, 1938, which forbade political activity by foreign associations. The government indicated by its arrest of Germans in connection with the May 11 revolt of the Integralists that it did not believe this decree was being observed. As late as 1939 there was still uneasiness in Brazilian government circles over foreign activity.

Brazilians have become increasingly worried over the doctrine that vacant land is the patrimony of mankind and should not be allowed to remain idle while millions of humans live on a low standard because of lack of sufficient land. The aggression of Japan, Germany, Italy, and Russia accentuated such fears. The millions of acres of absolutely unused lands in Brazil, the failure to develop the rich deposits of iron, manganese, and other minerals caused a natural uneasiness, a recognition that weak nations have always been absorbed by strong ones, that as Bismarck once remarked, natural riches in the hands of those who do not know how to develop them, nor care to do so, are a permanent danger to the possessor. Brazil wondered if she could defend herself.

One result of the alarm over the activities of foreigners was a series of decrees limiting the privileges of foreigners and naturalized Brazilians. These affected the lives of thousands of the immigrants. They were intended to protect Brazil against undue political influence by her immigrant elements, but they went beyond this, placing distinct curbs on the personal and economic rights of immigrants, including those who had become Brazilian citizens.

By these decrees foreigners could not be elected to nor hold public office; could not vote; could not engage within Brazilian territory in "any activity whatever of a political nature nor participate, directly or indirectly, in the public affairs of the country." This prohibition included not only participation in Brazilian political life but also any activity in the political parties or politics of the country of origin. All associations of foreigners formed with the object of participating in the political life of Brazil or in international political life were dissolved April 19, 1938. Only the cultural societies of foreigners might exist, and they could not be subsidized from abroad or have Brazilian members. Salutes, symbols, flags, parades, balloting, publications and broadcasts of ideas, programs, or party contests of other nations were prohibited to foreigners in Brazil.³⁸

Even naturalized citizens found themselves definitely restricted in privileges in comparison with native born Brazilians. For instance, they could not be the owners, operators, or commanders of vessels flying the Brazilian flag; could not exercise a liberal profession unless they had rendered their military service to Brazil; nor could they with certain exceptions obtain recognition of diplomas from foreign institutions.³⁹

Other laws restricted the privileges of foreign language newspapers. According to a decree of July 18, 1939, permission to publish foreign-language periodicals, magazines, and newspapers would be given only if the Portuguese translations accompanied the text. Existing publications were excepted but lost their customs exemption on paper if they refused to comply. At the time of the decree there were sixty foreign-language newspapers, published in ten foreign languages, consisting in part of sixteen German, eleven Syrian, nine Italian, and eight Japanese. These figures vary slightly from those given by Reinhard Maack. Cf. *infra*, p. 415.

³⁸ "Os Estrangeiros e o Estado Novo," *O Observador Económico e Financeiro*, No. 30 (Julho, 1938), pp. 27-34.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; and Pericles Mello Carvalho, *Manual do Estrangeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938).

As 1939 ended Brazil was making a drive to assimilate her foreigners. The National Security Council was given the duty of proposing methods. The Ministries of Justice and Interior, and Education and Health were coöperating. Schools were to be established to teach the Portuguese language and the history of Brazil to children in foreign-language areas. Teachers were to be trained, and cultural societies formed to foster Brazilianization. The Ministry of Labor, Industry, and Commerce was to see that the legal minimum of Brazilians were employed in agriculture, commerce and industry, and credit organizations. (This minimum is two thirds of the employees.) The Immigration and Colonization Council sought to avoid the concentration of immigrants, prevent foreign companies from acquiring large landed estates, and keep foreigners from absorbing Brazilian properties in colonial regions. Schools, with certain exceptions, might not be run by foreigners. Use of foreign languages was forbidden in public offices, barracks, and during military service. In order to effect more rapid assimilation Brazilians were to be settled in the centers of foreign population.⁴⁰

It is not possible to determine the efficacy of these measures, but it is evident that Brazil has taken to heart a warning and injunction by Sylvio Romero:⁴¹

Brazil will progress almost exclusively with the labor, the capital, the efforts, and the initiative of the foreigners, [who are taking] a privileged position among the inhabitants of the country. . . . We, the Latin Americans, insensibly and inevitably, will take a secondary position. We shall attend, like helots, the banquet of the powerful; we shall be, we élite of today, in the very position to which we have more or less condemned the Africans and the Indians and their immediate descendants who work for us. Melancholic revenge of history! God knows the bitterness with which I say this. . . . Then let us awake! Excelsior! *Sursum Corda!* Let us work, let us educate ourselves, let us reform in order that we may live!

The evidence as to the efforts made by foreign nations, especially Germany and Italy, to use their own nationals and Brazilians to influence Brazilian political affairs is so strong

⁴⁰ *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LXXIII (December, 1939).

⁴¹ Quoted in Arthur Guimarães, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

as to be beyond doubt. But the efforts should be distinguished rigorously from the results obtained. To all appearances the foreign drive was a failure as affairs stood at the end of 1939. Of the many reasons for this result, three would seem to predominate: the Brazilian political system was too complicated, and the hold of the Luso-Brazilians on this system too firm, for foreign elements to influence it substantially; the Brazilian army, though containing elements sympathetic to foreign ideologies, remained faithful to the nation; and, because of the great publicity given to the foreign danger, the Brazilians were aware of the threats to their nation and proved themselves capable of taking adequate measures of defense.

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DOCUMENTS

A QUEEN'S LETTER

An exchange of letters in 1786-1787 between Arthur St. Clair as President of the United States in Congress assembled and Queen Maria I of Portugal relates to a little-known episode in the foreign relations of the United States in the period under the Articles of Confederation. The offer of the Portuguese government to protect American vessels is not mentioned in general histories of the United States nor in the more prominent histories of diplomacy.¹

During the Confederacy the United States was endeavoring to develop friendly diplomatic relations with the European countries. The problem of the negotiation of treaties of amity and commerce with various European powers, including Portugal, was considered by the Congress in 1783 and 1784. A resolution providing that commissions be sent to Adams, Franklin, and Jay and outlining the points to be incorporated in the treaties was passed on May 7, 1784.² The consideration in regard to Portugal was emphasized on account of the difficulties with the Algerines, who declared war on the United States in 1785. Some of the antecedents to the exchange of letters should be noted. Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson in a letter of February 9, 1785, from Paris reported on the attitude of Portugal.³

On October 20, 1785, John Jay in a report to the Congress on the declaration of war by the Algerines upon the United States proposed the sending of a minister to Portugal to negotiate a treaty of alliance and commerce.⁴ The following year on February 21 Charles Pinckney moved

That a resident be appointed for Portugal and that the Secretary for foreign affairs be directed to report instructions for such a resident.⁵

The motion was postponed to February 28, and no further action appears on it. This was followed by another report of Jay made May

¹ For example no mention of this correspondence is to be found in S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (New York, 1937), L. M. Sears, *A History of American Foreign Relations* (New York, 1936), or J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy* (Boston, 1928).

² *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Library of Congress edition), Vol. 26, pp. 357-362. Hereafter cited *Journals*. Of the volumes cited, Vol. 26 is edited by Gaillard Hunt, 1928; Vols. 29 and 30 by John C. Fitzpatrick, 1933-1934; and Vols. 32 and 34 by Rosecoe R. Hill, 1936-1937.

³ *Journals*, Vol. 28, p. 324.

⁴ *Journals*, Vol. 29, pp. 843-844.

⁵ *Journals*, Vol. 30, p. 79.

11, 1786, regarding the advisability of a treaty with Portugal and pointing out the favorable attitude of that country as expressed by Ambassador Pinto in London.⁶

The immediate occasion of the exchange was the letter of John Adams to John Jay of June 27, 1786, which was read in Congress on September 26. This brought the information that the Queen of Portugal had despatched a squadron to protect Portuguese ships against the Algerines and had ordered it to accord like protection of American vessels.⁷ This letter was referred to Jay to report on September 29. The report was read and agreed to on February 3, 1787, and the text of the letter of thanks to the Queen (as presented below) was entered in the Secret Journal.⁸ This letter was sent to John Adams in London with instructions for him to send it to Lisbon by his secretary, Colonel W. S. Smith. On April 11, 1787, Adams gave Smith a letter of commission⁹ authorizing the latter to proceed to Portugal and deliver the letter of Congress to the Queen, either personally or through the prime minister. Smith also received another letter of instructions which directed him to go via Paris and Madrid, to gather certain information and to perfect his knowledge of French, Spanish, and Portuguese.¹⁰

From London on September 12, 1787, Colonel Smith wrote to John Jay giving an account of his trip to Portugal.¹¹ He recounted his experiences in Paris and Madrid and the polite reception at the Portuguese border. Soon after arriving at Lisbon on July 15, 1787, he visited the prime minister, Martinho de Mello e Castro, and presented his commission. The minister observed that the commission was not in adequate form but said he would present the matter to the Queen. An appointment was made for two days later, at which time information of the Queen's desire would be available. Colonel Smith became ill, however, and could not call on the minister. Consequently, the minister sent his secretary, Sr. Fonseca, to state that in view of the informal character of the commission Colonel Smith could not be received by the Queen but that he could go to the palace on the occasion of the regular monthly court. He considered this as not comporting with the dignity of the United States and felt that due attention was not shown, especially in comparison to his reception in Paris and

⁶ *Journals*, Vol. 30, p. 260.

⁷ Library of Congress Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 84, VI, fol. 307. The letter was entered in the Secret Journal (*Journals*, Vol. 32, p. 16n.).

⁸ *Journals*, Vol. 32, pp. 16-17.

⁹ L. C., P. C. C., No. 92, pp. 320-321. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 92, pp. 324-327.

¹¹ L. C., P. C. C., No. 92, pp. 304-39, with its nine enclosures on pp. 320-351 and 300-301.

Madrid. Consequently, he delivered the letter of St. Clair to the secretary to be handed to the Queen by the prime minister, thus complying with the second method in his instruction. By remaining sick Colonel Smith avoided the embarrassment of attending court without having been presented to the royal family.

Some days later the secretary again visited Colonel Smith who stated that he proposed to sail on August 7. The secretary urged him to delay his departure for a month in order that he might attend court, but Colonel Smith insisted there was no object in such procedure, especially as he had complied with the purpose of his mission. Fonseca then observed that the reply of the Queen was about prepared.

The following day, August 4, Colonel Smith was advised that the Queen would receive him on the next day, at which time she would hand him her reply. He was introduced to the Queen and the royal family by the prime minister in a short ceremony when the customary formal speeches were made and the letter delivered.

After the ceremony Colonel Smith, in company with the prime minister, visited the arsenal and discussed further the treaty and the appointment of ministers by the two countries. The minister stated that the Queen was displeased at what appeared to be a lack of attention on the part of the United States. This seemed to explain somewhat the course of events during the visit. Colonel Smith, however, in conclusion expressed satisfaction with his reception and the results of his mission. He sailed for London the following day, August 6, 1787.

Colonel Smith's letter was read in Congress on February 5, 1788, and referred on the 12th to the secretary for foreign affairs to report.¹² Jay made the report on March 13, outlining the points of the letter, again recommended the appointment of a minister to Portugal, and suggested a commendation for Colonel Smith.¹³ The commendation was ordered by Congress on July 28, 1788, under which date the order, together with the report, was entered in the Secret Journal.¹⁴

To complete this story, there are published here St. Clair's letter, the Queen's reply (contemporary translation), the speech of Colonel Smith, and the Queen's answer (contemporary translation). The original Portuguese letter¹⁵ of the Queen appears in facsimile as the frontispiece of this number of the REVIEW.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

¹² *Journals*, Vol. 34, pp. 29-30 and 42.

¹³ *Journals*, Vol. 34, pp. 91-92.

¹⁴ *Journals*, Vol. 34, pp. 361-362.

¹⁵ The National Archives, State, Ceremonial Letters.

Letter of the Congress¹⁶

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: We take the earliest opportunity since our annual election of presenting to your Majesty our sincere acknowledgements for the friendly regard you have manifested for us, in having ordered your Squadron in the Streights to protect our Vessels equally with those of Portugal.

Permit us to assure you that we shall retain this mark of generous attention in grateful remembrance, and shall omit no opportunity of testifying our desire to establish and perpetuate between our two Countries an intercourse of Commerce and good Offices, which may prove no less beneficial than agreeable to both.

We pray God to bless and preserve your Majesty.

Done by the Congress of the United States convened at the City of New York the third day of February in the year of our Lord 1787.

(sign'd) ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, President.

Letter of the Queen of Portugal¹⁷

(Translation)

Dona Maria by the grace of God, Queen of Portugal and of the Algarves, on this and the other side of the sea, in Africa [Governing]^a Guinea, and the conquest, navigation and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, etc.

[Salute]^b the United States of America—whom I much esteem and prize.

I received your letter with very particular satisfaction; and it was equally very agreeable to me that the orders I sent to the Commander of my squadron, cruising in the mouth of the straits, to protect your vessels in the same manner as those of Portugal, should [evince you of]^c the particular contemplation (or regard) and distinguished value, I set on the United States.

The same orders [as the precedent were and shall be repeated,]^d while the Portuguese fleets shall cruise on those seas. And I hope that these demonstrations will convince you of the efficacious propensity and sincere desire I have of cultivating with you the best intelligence and of establishing between the two states a perfect friendship and union promoting and consolidating their common interests, by the efficacious and permanent means of an alliance that may procure to

¹⁶ Reprinted from *Journals*, Vol. 32, pp. 16-17.

¹⁷ L. C., P. C. C., No. 92, pp. 300-301. Better translations for bracketed words are as follows: a. "Ruler of"; b. "I send greetings to"; c. "should make known to you"; d. "were and always will be repeated as the preceding"; and e. "with rubric."

the two nations the most solid and mutual advantages. United States of America.

God bless you under his holy Guard—Written on the Palace of Lisbon the 2^d of August 1787.

The Queen [guarded]^c

Martinho de Mello e Castro

Speech of Colonel Smith When Presented to Receive the
Queen's Letter¹⁸

Language is too weak to express my gratitude for this particular mark of your Majesty's favour. I am happy as it affords me the opportunity of assuring you of the great veneration and respect the Congress of the United States of America have for your Majesty's character and how much they feel themselves interested in the happiness of your reign and the prosperity of your dominions.

It will be with particular pleasure that I shall communicate to them the marked politeness and attention with which I have been received and treated and the flattering opinions which your Majesty and your Minister are pleased to entertain respecting them. I am confident it will afford them the greatest satisfaction if these marks of friendship and attention should lay the foundation of a connection and intercourse liberal and mutually beneficial.

Reply of Her Majesty¹⁹
(Translation)

The United States of America show me a contemplation very particular, and in all occurrent occasions I will show them the distinguished [prize]^a I set on them, and my invariable disposition to strengthen between the two States the ties of a solid and permanent friendship.

You may [so certify the same states and likewise of it being]^b very agreeable to me that the Commission intrusted to you of coming to this court should fall upon a person of your merit and probity.

¹⁸ L. C., P. C. C., No. 92, p. 343.

¹⁹ L. C., P. C. C., No. 92, p. 349, with copy in Portuguese on p. 347. Better translations for bracketed words are as follows: a. "appreciation"; b. "thus inform those same States, how also it has been."

BOOK REVIEWS

História da expansão portuguesa no mundo. Edited by DR. ANTONIO BAIÃO, DR. HERNANI CIDADE, DR. MANUEL MÚRIAS, and LUIZ DE MONTALVÔR. (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937-. Vol. I, 391 pp.; Vol. II, in press; Vol. III, in preparation. The set, Escudos 330\$00; separate vols., 12 fascicles each, Esc. 115\$00; separate fascicles, Esc. 10\$50.)

This work, which seems as admirable in its historical scholarship as in its typography and its illustrations, is issued under the patronage of the Portuguese Ministry of Education. Its list of editorial collaborators, to whom individually is entrusted the writing of the several chapters, included from the start almost fifty of the leading historical, scientific, and military writers of Portugal. In the latest fascicle now available (No. 23) a few of the original names have dropped out, but over twenty have been added, including several from Brazil. The two volumes that are (except apparently for one fascicle) now out contain approximately 250 illustrations on separate plates, in addition to about thirty in the text. Many are colored, and all are excellently reproduced. They include portraits, diagrams, maps, representations of art objects, and a considerable number of facsimiles of documents and of illuminated manuscript pages, many of them extraordinarily beautiful.

After a preliminary discussion of the people, their organization into a nation, and the various motives prompting them to expand, there are four sections devoted, respectively, to their expansion into Morocco, across the Atlantic, toward the Orient, and in the New World; five subsequent sections will be devoted to the period of the domination of Castile, and other convenient subdivisions of Portuguese history, down to the Treaty of Berlin (1885); part X will be devoted to the gradual substitution of civil administration for military occupation, part XI to Portuguese colonies in foreign lands, and a closing section (not numbered) to the cultural aspects of overseas expansion. Since the preliminary announcement of separate chapters in the *Fascículo-Espécime*, numerous additions have been made in the portions thus far published.

In reviewing so comprehensive a work, one may perhaps be excused for turning to those sections dealing with one's own special interests. Prof. José Gonçalo de Santa Rita, in a chapter on the

Geographical Conceptions of the Beginning of the 15th Century, provides an excellent survey of the literature on voyages and travels from the tenth century to the fifteenth, and particularly illustrates the slowness with which, prior to the invention of printing, new geographical knowledge was spread. The great travelers of the fourteenth century furnished students with extensive and fairly accurate information concerning the Orient, but most of their accounts—except for Marco Polo, Odorico, and a few others—were buried in the archives. Hence the old errors of the ancients as to geography were still repeated, and all too often a discovery was made, neglected, and made all over again a century or two later. Even Pierre d'Ailly, whose work greatly influenced Columbus, ignores Marco Polo and does not once mention Cathay. The invention of printing enormously speeded up the process of the dissemination of knowledge.

Prof. Joaquim de Carvalho, in a chapter on the *Problems of International Trade and the Routes Penetrating the Orient*, describes the commercial monopoly of Venice, and to a less degree of Genoa, in the spice trade, to which the fall of Constantinople in 1453 administered a profound shock. Although the route through Egypt continued open, the extortions of the Arab intermediaries were so rapacious as almost to halt the distribution of the Oriental products in Europe. A new route was therefore an economic necessity.

Dr. António Barbosa supplies a highly technical but very interesting chapter on the *Art of Navigation among the Portuguese in the Period of the Discoveries*. Three stages are distinguished in the development of the art: (1) coastwise navigation of the simpler sort, with charts showing landmarks along the shore; (2) "estimated navigation," which calculated the distances and directions from one landmark to another along the coast; and (3) "astronomical navigation," if necessary out of sight of land, using the positions of the heavenly bodies in order to determine latitude (longitude was much more difficult). The author summarizes his memoir presented in 1937 to the first Congress on the History of Portuguese Expansion in the World, disproving the older thesis that "astronomical navigation" was invented by Catalan and Majorcan sailors in the fourteenth century, and showing instead that in the first half of the fifteenth century the new system was invented by the Portuguese, who employed it in their discoveries while Mediterranean sailors still used "estimated navigation" down to the middle of the sixteenth century. The rest of the chapter is devoted to technical problems, instruments, formulas, maps, and globes, all made as simple as the nature of the subject-matter will allow.

Dr. Francisco Fernandes Lopes is in process of contributing a chapter on the *Portuguese Collaboration in the Discovery of America exclusive of Brazil*, of which only about twenty pages on the *Pre-Columbian Voyages* are as yet available. These are clear and well-documented. Whether or not one accepts the fundamental thesis of Portuguese discoveries in America prior to the year 1492, it is a distinct service to have this careful presentation of an important current phase of Portuguese historical studies.

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON.

Washington, D. C.

The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, from contemporary documents and narratives. Translated with introduction and notes by WILLIAM BROOKS GREENLEE. [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society, second series, No. LXXXI.] (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1938. Pp. lxix, 228. Maps and illus. £1.5s. o.)

Mr. Greenlee presents his translations of ten sets of documents concerning Cabral's voyage. His setting for the texts is a summary of Cabral's life, an analysis of the theories of the accidental and intentional discovery of Brazil, and a sketch of ships and personnel. These commentaries are quite the best recent thing in English on their respective subjects.

In dissecting with admirable clarity the controversy over the discovery of Brazil, Mr. Greenlee has done a real service to students of Brazil. He makes it his purpose to consider Cabral's voyage as a whole, thus reminding students that the Brazilian episode was incidental to Cabral's main purpose. Indeed, so consistent is Mr. Greenlee's perspective that it is a little surprising that he finds Cabral's reception of the Brazilian natives "somewhat out of place" (p. xliii). It would seem, rather, that Cabral was so filled with Gama's news of India that he was prepared to receive some great potentate in Brazil; finding only stone-age natives was a disappointment. As to the controversy itself, Mr. Greenlee outlines the evidence on which each theory rests and points out the strong and weak points of each. Because he bears in mind the important fact that Cabral's fleet was, after all, bound for India, he concludes that the discovery of Brazil was accidental. "The chief motive" for the westward diversion "was to follow the most practicable and safest route to India" (p. lx). He admits that the controversy is still unsettled; he has done a great deal, nevertheless, to state what the issues of the controversy are.

Of all the documents included, the one most important to students of Brazil is Vaz Caminha's letter (pp. 5-33). Mr. Greenlee's inten-

tion all through the book has been to translate literally in order to secure accuracy and to retain the flavor of the originals. He has indeed succeeded, though, in the special case of the Caminha letter, disagreement is possible on small points. The passage (p. 21) "and I do not know what devil spoke to him" makes more sense as "I do not know what the devil he was talking about" (*e de nom sey que diabo falava*). The passage (pp. 13-14) "The captain ordered . . ." should read: "The captain ordered Nicolao Coelho and Bartolomeu Dias to go ashore and to take these two men, and to let them go with their bow and arrows." "Seaman" or "sailor" (pp. 32, 28) is not a clear translation of *grumete*. "Ordinary seaman" as Mr. Greenlee translates *grumete* in his quotation from Corrêa (p. 193), though better, is not sufficiently different from *marinheiro*. *Grumete* was clearly distinguished from *marinheiro* in sixteenth-century documents both in terms of duties and of pay (e.g., *Ordenações Manoelinas*, V, cxii, 16; the Corrêa excerpt, p. 193). "Convicts" or "banished men" (p. 14, note 1; p. 27) does not carry the full meaning of *degredado*. In addition to meaning simply a banished convict, the term included persons who because of rank or privilege enjoyed immunity from certain punishments in Portugal. That punishment was commuted to banishment to specified places overseas (e.g., *Ordenações Manoelinas*, V, xl). Persons who enjoyed this immunity were prelates, *fidalgos*, squires, merchants with a capital of one hundred thousand *reaes*, and others. Note 2, p. 11, should read *coredios*, *de boa gramdura*, and *cjma* for *credios*, *de bem grandura*, and *cima*. The *inhame* in note 4, p. 25, is more likely *aipim*, sometimes called *macaxeira*, which is sweet manioc (*Manihot palmata*).

These and a few other proofreading errors are inconsequential. Mr. Greenlee's contribution in this volume is so considerable that students of Brazil will watch with pleasure for more writings from his pen.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil. By SERAFIM LEITE, S. J. (Lisbon: Livraria Portuguesa, and Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1938. Vol. I, pp. xxxii, 610; Vol. II, pp. xv, 658. Esc. 100\$00.)

In a time visited throughout the world by so much destruction and demoralization this history of the creative and organizing efforts of the Society of Jesus is particularly welcome. The two volumes of this work which embraces the sixteenth century contain ten books of

forty-nine chapters. The plan of organization of the history is made particularly clear-cut by the fact that each of these chapters is divided into sections. The substance of each of the latter is indicated by a sub-head beneath the title of each chapter.

After a preliminary discussion on the founding of the Jesuit order, the author takes us to the Bay of Todos os Santos and introduces us to those famous personages of Brazilian history, Manuel da Nóbrega and Tomé de Sousa. The entrance of the Jesuit fathers into the captaincies is described one after another: S. Jorge de Ilhéus, Pôrto Seguro, Espírito Santo, S. Vicente, São Paulo. Upon Rio de Janeiro a whole book is properly devoted. Then we proceed northward to the captaincies: Sergipe de El-Rei, Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Rio Grande de Norte. The second volume is a treatment of the Jesuit mission work according to general subjects, such as organizing towns, colonizing, religious ministrations, the internal regime of the company, and science, letters, and arts.

In his explanations of the colonizing work of the Jesuits, the author presents excellent character sketches, and elaborates on church and college building, even to the extent of showing the architectural plans involved. His descriptions of the contacts which the Fathers had with pirates—French, Dutch, and English—are full of interest.

The economic conditions which the Jesuits faced are discussed frequently in both volumes. The conflict between the injunction of poverty and the necessity of property is explained. We are informed as to sources of income, methods employed in purchases and sales, and difficulties which inheritances and litigations involved. The origins of Brazilian industries are traced in sections dealing with the cattle industry and sugar cane.

The story of the educational work of this Order is familiar to many, for the general plan did not differ from one country to another. But the problems of teaching the natives varied widely with the character of the Indian races. The author devotes much space to the natives, their religious susceptibilities and the religious instruction accorded them. He describes educational facilities for students other than the Indians. Not the least interesting sections concern student life, discipline, the professors, academic degrees, and holidays. Closely connected with this educational work was that of charitable and moral assistance. To the shipwrecked, prisoners, women, and orphans, the Jesuits extended a helping hand. They frequently acted as arbitrators in disputes among the colonists, and among government officials.

One book in the second volume is devoted to the internal regime of the Order. Here the author explains the results of the adaptation

of Loyola's dicta to Brazilian conditions. Perhaps the most valuable feature in this part of the volume is the biographical sketches of the heads of the Order in Brazil from Nóbrega to Pero Rodrigues. The author does not hesitate to compare these Fathers pointing out their good qualities and weaknesses.

In the development of science, letters, and arts the accomplishments of Jesuits were truly remarkable. They mastered the language of the Tupi Guarani, learned how to treat the native diseases, combated devastating epidemics, and fought cancer and venereal diseases. The churches of the Order offered opportunities for expressions of the artistic talent of the Fathers in the fields of painting and architecture.

Into the preparation of this work went indefatigable industry in the study of the sources, painstaking labor in composing the story, and tireless attention to details in the presentation of the finished product. Few are the authors who have the opportunities as well as the diligence to track down archival sources to the degree that is apparent in these volumes. One of the best features of the book is the critical estimate of the materials in the archives of Italy, Spain, France, Belgium, and Holland as well as those of Portugal and Brazil. The extent of the researches may be indicated further by a partial enumeration of those of Brazil which the author used: São Paulo, Rio, Vitória, Baía, Pernambuco, Fortaleza, S. Luz do Maranhão, and Pará. Nor were the private collections and libraries neglected. The bibliography of printed works is limited to those books most frequently cited, but one may turn to the index for names of many others.

The two volumes are indexed separately. Although both indices are restricted to proper names, they appear to be adequate, for, in a work of this sort, the names of persons and places are all important. Moreover the table of contents or "general index" is unusually detailed and offers a key to subjects. Some seventy pages of the volumes are devoted to appendices. These include valuable lists of Jesuit writers, missionary expeditions, and of Jesuit Fathers located at various places. Royal documents and important papers of the Order are also to be found among these twenty-two appendices. A considerable number of very excellent and very interesting plates depicting plans of churches and colleges, significant documents, and maps of areas where the Jesuits labored, are included. The author has provided considerable historical data in the appendices for many of these remarkable reproductions. In addition he has prepared a good map of those areas of Brazil in which the Order established itself.

This history of the Jesuits leaves virtually nothing to be desired.

Some may perhaps doubt the objectivity of a writer whose subject is his own Order. To this the author replies in his preface by the questions: who is better qualified to write a history of Portugal than a Portuguese, of Brazil than a Brazilian, of jurisprudence than a juriconsult? To be sure the author may seem a little gentle in his treatment of Jesuit leaders and their faults. He may seem to minimize failures of the Order, but these do not detract from the essential excellence of the work. In conclusion one may wish that this history of the Jesuits, which is to such a large extent the history of Brazil, may be continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

A History of Brazil. By JOÃO PANDIÁ CALOGERAS. Translated and edited by PERCY ALVIN MARTIN. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1939. Pp. xxiii; 374. \$5.00.)

Percy Alvin Martin's creative translation of the *Formação Histórica do Brasil* by João Pandiá Calogeras gives English readers the first account down to modern times in their own language of the history of a land which is commanding the increasing attention of the United States and of Europe. The only other comprehensive study in English of Brazilian history is that of the English poet, Robert Southey, which stops just before independence from the Portuguese crown. The reader who looks for a detailed treatment of the colonial period is doomed to disappointment, but the present work supplements Southey admirably by carrying the narrative of the progress of the Brazilian nation from the close of the colonial period to the present.

In the original work, for his own people, Dr. Calogeras limited the account of the colonial era to upward of 120 pages and devoted the remaining 380 pages to events down to 1926. The emphasis of Calogeras upon the modern period, during the later years of which he helped to make his country's history, was well advised, since the colonial period has been well covered by writers like Varnhagen and Capistrano de Abreu. In his detailed narrative of the fortunes of the Empire and the Republic, Calogeras has done both Brazilians and foreigners a service.

The translator has contributed a biographical sketch of this dynamic individual, who although serving at various times as federal deputy from his native state of Minas Geraes, and successively as minister of agriculture, minister of finance during the World War, minister of war, and delegate of Brazil at the Versailles peace con-

ference and other international gatherings, contrived to find time to write treatises on Brazilian mining history, Brazilian economic questions, and a number of historical studies besides the one under review.

The original Portuguese title of the book, suggestive of the treatment by Calogeras, finds corroboration in the author's conclusion on page 332 of the translation: that a permanent tendency in the history of his country has been "an ever-growing sense of national unity" with the result that "the immense, amorphous, thinly populated territory of Brazil, with its diversity of regional interests, has been welded into a national whole."

That the work of the translator is especially skillful, anyone who knows the subtlety and at times circumlocutory genius of the Portuguese language will concede. Dr. Martin has helpfully supplemented Calogeras with timely notes to fill out a cursory treatment here and there, and has supplied helpful bibliographical comments. The translator has added a useful chapter to complete the chronicle of Brazilian history from 1926 through 1937.

The reviewer believes that he speaks for Professor Martin's many friends and admirers throughout the Americas when he expresses the hope that the translator's copious knowledge of Brazilian history will come to light in a larger way one of these days when he himself writes a definitive history of Brazil in English. Until then we shall have to be satisfied with Southey and Calogeras.

FREDERIC WILLIAM GANZERT.

The University of Utah.

L'art portugais. Architecture-sculpture-peinture. By REYNALDO DOS SANTOS. [Editions d'histoire et d'art.] (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1938. Pp. 12 and xlv plates.)

Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas Artes. Nos. II-V. (Lisboa: 1938-1939. Pp. 48, 61, 63, 56.)

In the eight centuries of her independence which this year is celebrated throughout the Empire, Portugal has produced an art as distinguished and as original as are her history, her language, and her literature. Overshadowed by the brilliant flowering of the Fine Arts in Spain, this art has been neglected by foreign scholars. Only a few, like the Frenchman Bertaux, the German Haupt, and the Englishman W. C. Watson have known what was produced in Portugal from the *Beatus* of Lorrvão to the rustic rococo of Tibães, and have known the excellence of the native tradition of architecture, sculpture, and painting.

In recent years the Portuguese have become aware of their artistic patrimony. Under the leadership of the late eminent director of the National Museum of Art in Lisbon, José de Figueiredo, who some twenty years ago dramatically rediscovered the royal altarpiece of Nuno Gonçalves, a group of talented investigators have worked. Of these men none has been more successful than the brilliant physician and *amateur* Reynaldo dos Santos. As President of the National Academy of Fine Arts, ably supported by his colleague João Couto, Figueiredo's successor at the National Museum, and Antonio Ferro, administrator of the Secretariado da Propaganda Nacional, he has undertaken the systematic study of Portuguese art. Together they have set up an ambitious program to preserve and publicize. It includes the restoration of artistic and historic monuments, a careful regional inventory, a series of comprehensive exhibitions, apparatus for scientific study at the National Museum, and the publishing of a Bulletin of the National Academy of Fine Arts and a number of important monographs.

One of these volumes is *L'art portugais*, a collection of forty-four photogravure plates with a text of some twelve pages in French by Reynaldo dos Santos. It is a survey of the great epoch of Portuguese art, coincident with the period of the dynasty of Aviz, from the late fourteenth to the end of the sixteenth century. It was the age of the grandeur of Portugal, the conquest of Africa, the discovery of the sea route to India, and the expansion of Lisbon.

Dos Santos maintains that Portuguese art is the result of an Atlantic civilization rather than a Mediterranean. The fact that Portugal faced and was challenged by a vast and unknown sea, rather than by a small and familiar one, had its reflection in the national art. This brought a taste for the dynamic, the baroque, the exotic, dramatic, and naturalistic, which is constantly more apparent as the discoveries were extended and the mystery of the dark and unknown sea was conquered. This is Dos Santos' explanation for that amazing style of architecture called Manueline which in Portugal accompanied the great navigations. It is his justification for the extraordinary naturalism of the Late-Gothic decoration at the monasteries of Batalha and Belem, and the sculptured sea-weed, ship's ropes, and sails at Tomar. He points out the exotic cross currents at play in this architecture, the influences from India, and the ever present Moroccan inspiration, due to the practice of contemporary architects interrupting their careers in Portugal to construct fortresses for the victorious armadas in Northern Africa, thereby acquiring a taste for Moslem building and decoration. He uses his "Atlantic thesis" to explain the

greater depth and contrast of the Manueline as compared with the flat surfaces of the contemporary Plateresque style of Mediterranean Spain. In these Portuguese structures he feels the sense of profundity and drama that the vast uncharted sea conveys.

In the late fifteenth century Portugal suddenly produced a school of painting that was the equal of any in Europe at the time. Nuno Gonçalves and his unknown followers worked in a style that was a startling combination of naturalism and monumentality. Again Dos Santos explains it by his theory of Atlantic influence, but gives no clue to the antecedents of these painters, apparently an insoluble mystery. He advances a powerful argument for grouping the two panels and their wings of Nuno's royal altarpiece in a single retable. Figueiredo had always considered them separate paintings. He points out their stylistic relation to the tapestries representing Dom Afonso V's capture of Arzila, which he himself discovered in 1916 at Pastrana in Spain.

Continuing his analysis of the development of Portuguese painting Dos Santos briefly traces the influence at the turn of the century of the Flemings Frey Carlos and Francisco Henriques, concerning whose Evora altarpiece he published a detailed article in the fourth issue of the *Boletim*. The rest of the study is devoted to the cosmopolitan painters of Dom Manoel's court, to the provincial painters, whose work is being exhibited for the first time in connection with this year's Congress of the Portuguese World, in Lisbon, to a summary of the problems of the school of Grão Vasco at Viseu, and to a description of the late portraitists who led up to Velasquez, the son of a Portuguese, who brought the tradition to Spain.

In his text the author makes one statement that is difficult to accept when he claims that the redecorated twelfth-century Templar church at Tomar is "certainly the finest specimen of Syrian art surviving today in the West." It is to be regretted that Dos Santos could not illustrate the unique Manueline palace of Azeitão, and that he could not find room for either of the magnificent paintings by Nuno's pupils representing St. Francis and St. Theotonius, infinitely more important than the panel by the mannered Paradise Master that is reproduced. Space should also have been found for one of the sculptured retables of the school of Rouen, those of Sintra or Obidos in particular. But, except for these minor objections, *L'art portugais* is a straightforward and splendidly illustrated presentation that will do much to acquaint the world with the treasures of Portuguese art at its zenith.

The *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, founded in

1932, but whose second number did not appear until six years later, is the organ of Reynaldo dos Santos and his fellow historians. It is an exceptionally well-made journal, the quality of whose illustrations and typography is superior to the art periodicals of France, Germany, and Italy, now unfortunately in decline, and the equal of our own *Art Bulletin*. It is significant that the *Boletim* is now attracting contributions from foreign art historians. Outstanding are the articles on the Indian ivory coffers by Luis Keil (No. III), Francisco Henriques, by Dos Santos (No. IV), the *Salomé* of Cranach, by João Couto (No. IV), and the Portuguese *barristas* by Diogo de Macêdo (No. V). It is to be hoped that the *Boletim* will in the future include well-documented articles on Portuguese architecture and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century painting and sculpture.

A brilliant beginning has been made in the study of Portuguese art. It is now time for a detailed history of Manueline architecture and sculpture and of the more than four hundred preserved paintings of the primitive school. Such studies will pave the way, along with the recently inaugurated *Inventário artístico de Portugal*, for the much needed general volume on the Fine Arts in Portugal and the Portuguese Empire.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

The Hispanic Foundation,
Library of Congress.

Inventário dos Inestimáveis Documentos Históricos do Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, no Castello d'Eu, em França. With a Foreword by PRINCE PEDRO DE ORLÉANS BRAGANÇA. Organized and compiled by ALBERTO RANGEL assisted by MIGUEL CALOGERAS. 2 vols. [Vols. LIV and LV of *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*.] (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1939. Vol. LIV, pp. 528 + 18; Vol. LV, pp. 513 + 14.)

Some time after the exile of Dom Pedro II, in 1889, the Imperial archives were sent to France, where they were long in possession of the Emperor's daughter, Princess Isabel, Comtesse d'Eu. But they remained boxed away at the Château d'Eu, inaccessible to scholars, until some time after her death in 1921. About a dozen years ago the late Prince Pedro de Orléans Bragança, Dona Isabel's eldest son, commissioned Dr. Alberto Rangel, the Brazilian historian, to organize and index these precious papers. His Highness was personally so interested in the undertaking that he typed from Dr. Rangel's handwritten notes the index later made available at the Château for research scholars. Alberto Rangel's task was completed early in 1930,

after about two years of work, and the great mass of material was neatly tied up in portfolios and placed in dust-proof hardwood lockers in the archive room of the Château. Though not safe here from fire, they are probably in no greater hazard from it than they would be in the *Tôrre do Tombo* in Lisbon or in the *Arquivo Nacional* in Rio de Janeiro; and they appear to be otherwise better protected than they would be in either Portugal or Brazil.

The *Inventario* is more than its name indicates: it is a careful, exact index of the imperial archives. These are arranged in three different classifications, or catalogues, as follows: Catalogue A—dated materials, by far the most numerous classification; Catalogue B—records lacking dates, which must be placed in time by internal evidence; Catalogue C—codices, reports, manuscript poems dedicated to the Emperor, expense accounts of the royal family, and the like.

In all classifications, the arrangement is chronological, and a given manuscript can be had quickly by the number of the portfolio (*maço*) containing it, and also by the document number, the date—if it has one—the name of the writer, and other facts about it found in the index. The general subjects of especially important documents are given, and at times also brief quotations from them. Frequently many separate, but closely related, papers are listed under a single document number. For instance, Number 3810, in *Maço LXXXIII*, Catalogue A, refers to twenty-two letters written in 1829 by Princess Maria da Gloria to her father Dom Pedro I. Yet, in spite of this bunching of materials, the last item in Catalogue A (*Maço CCVII*) is numbered 9435, which fact gives some idea of the abundance of these archives.

The earliest original document is a parchment from 1452, recording a donation of King Affonso V; the latest one is a letter of thanks, written August 6, 1929, by Duke Leopold of Brabant to Dom Pedro de Orléans Bragança. There are scattered writings, including letters from various Portuguese kings, dated from 1500 to 1800; but most of the archives are from the nineteenth century. With the exception of communications from and by Dom Pedro I and his brother Miguel, relating to Portuguese matters, these later papers are mostly concerned with Brazil or Brazilians. Some letters from King João VI are listed, but the *Inventario* itemizes a much more copious correspondence of his energetic queen, Carlota Joaquina, largely connected with her activities as self-constituted heir to her brother Ferdinand VII's domains in the New World. Naturally, most of the archives are from the long reign of Dom Pedro II. These include a great variety of materials—the Emperor's diaries, exercise books,

note books, translations, and some letters from him; petitions and ministerial communications; and many letters from royal relatives and from famous intellectuals, such as Renan, Pasteur, Gobineau, Hereulano, Agassiz, and many others. Typed copies of numerous letters by Dom Pedro to Gobineau, from originals in the University of Strasbourg, are also to be found at the Château, and are listed in the index. Documents relating to the overthrow of the Emperor and the exile of the imperial family are also there. Some were penned by Dom Pedro himself, and by Princess Isabel and the Comte d'Eu. For the period after the Emperor's death there are letters by and from the Princess and her husband.

Since being made accessible to scholars, these archives have furnished rich source material for several books relating to Brazil, three of them biographies of Dom Pedro II. All historians interested in the Portuguese-Brazilian field are indebted to the highly intelligent and gracious Prince Pedro for opening these priceless records to research, and they are also under obligation to the Brazilian government for making the contents of the archives better known through the publication of the *Inventário*.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Subsídios para a História do Arquivo Nacional na Comemoração do seu Primeiro Centenário, 1838-1938. O Arquivo no Império. By PANDIÁ H. DE TAUTPHOEUS CASTELLO BRANCO. (Rio de Janeiro: Oficinas Gráficas do Arquivo Nacional, 1937. Volume I. Pp. ix, 356.)

In connection with the celebration of the centenary of the founding of the Brazilian National Archive, its director, the late Dr. Alcides Bezerra Cavalcanti, suggested the publication of a history of the institution. The task was undertaken by Professor Tautphoeus, chief of its library. The result of his labors is the volume of notes for the history of the Archive during the Empire. The author first gives a sketch of the administrative history of Brazil and then a chapter on the establishment of the Archive. These are followed by a discussion of the evolution of the institution as revealed in the annual reports of the directors. Succeeding chapters deal with various interesting phases in the life of the Archive. The plan of classification, the need of an isolated building, the difficulties in securing a transfer of documents, the small salaries of the employees, the loss of documents through ravages by insects, the two small fires, the various moves from one building to another, and other interesting

facts are presented. Tribute is paid to the four directors who served during the period and to the chief clerk who held his post for forty-eight years. The names of the lesser employees are all given, with their terms of service. The concluding portion of the volume contains the text of laws, decrees, and regulations relating to the Archive, which were promulgated under the Empire. Such extensive quotations from documents are used in telling the story that the work is, in effect, a source book which reveals the problems and difficulties encountered in the development of the Archive during the first half century of its existence. The inclusion of an account of the documents received would have been a valuable addition.

This volume is a worthy contribution to American archivology and takes its place beside the work by Captain Joaquín Llaverías, *Historia de los Archivos de Cuba*, which appeared nearly thirty years ago. Professor Tautphoeus has rendered a distinct service to the Archive and to those interested in Brazilian history and is to be congratulated upon his preparation of this memento for the centenary celebration.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

História de Angola. By ELIAS ALEXANDRE DA SILVA CORRÊA. With a preface by DR. MANUEL MÚRIAS, director of the Lisbon Colonial Archives. [Coleção dos Clássicos da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo.] (Lisboa: Editorial Ática, 1937. 2 vols. Pp. xv, 375; 251.)

The present work is the first published copy of an original MS. in the library of the Lisbon Geographical Society which bears the title of *Historia / de / Angola / Dedicada / A S. Alteza Serenissima, o / Principe Regente / Nosso Senhor / por / Elias Alexandre da Silva Correa / Cavalleiro professo na Ordem de Christo, & Sargento / môr d'Infantaria de Milicias na Capital do / Rio de Janeiro / 1782.* A native of Rio (though the son of Europeans), Corrêa saw military service in Santa Catarina and Lisbon before embarking for Africa, whither he had volunteered to go as an officer in the army. Very little more is known of the life of the man who wrote the first comprehensive history of Portuguese West Africa some time during the years 1787-1799 (and not, as he erroneously affirms, in 1782); he was, in the words of the editor, an educated, intelligent, active, enterprising, and observant person.

The *História de Angola* is divided into three parts. The first is a description of the kingdom: its ports, fortifications, and administrative divisions, and aspects of its economic, religious, and military life

—perhaps the most interesting division of the treatise. The second is a political history of Angola from its earliest discovery to the arrival in Luanda of the Count of Lavradio (1749). The third gives the history of the colony from that date to the end of the administration of Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, who succeeded his brother as governor in 1790. This part is followed by a chronological list of the colonial governors.

The value of the *História* is readily apparent. As a source for the study of late eighteenth-century Angola, it is of great usefulness. As a source for other periods of Angolan history, it is less important, for the author, as Dr. Múrias points out, did not have access to many vital documents. Corrêa, nevertheless, is known to have utilized documentary materials in the colony itself, and his pages on the early history of Angola, though less complete than they might have been, are not without great interest.

The Portuguese government, under whose aegis this and other works on the colonial empire have appeared, is to be congratulated on its efforts to make readily available the records of Portugal's overseas expansion.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

Aristarchos. By FIDELINO DE FIGUEIREDO. [Collecção do Departamento de Cultura, Vol. XXIII.] (São Paulo: Departamento de Cultura, 1939. Pp. 120.)

The value of this little book is in inverse ratio to its length. One could wish that Professor Figueiredo had drawn more extensively from the resources which in his long and varied career he has gathered with such care and insight. But it is in this relative paucity of detail that the significance of this small volume may be found. Located in São Paulo far from his notes and his library, Professor Figueiredo limited himself to items which have demonstrated their worth to him in his long service as librarian and scholar. Originally conceived as a comprehensive course on bibliography and critical methodology to be given in the University of São Paulo, the lectures comprising this book were actually presented in four sessions to the general public. The necessity of compressing into four one-hour conferences material sufficient for an extended course of study again forced a high degree of selection. Were the result the work of an immature scholar whose breadth of understanding and wealth of resources have not been demonstrated, the book would have little

value. Coming from Professor Figueiredo, the material presented and the opinions expressed are significant.

The book consists of four lectures and an appendix. The first section surveys the development of general bibliography in Portugal and Brazil from earliest times to the current work of J. F. Velho Sobrinho. The second lecture surveys the development of Portuguese and Brazilian bibliography in the field of history and the third in the field of literary criticism. In the fourth section Professor Figueiredo presents his interpretation of the methods and function of the bibliographer. The appendix, listing some sixty-three titles, is intended to serve as a basis for some future bibliography of Brazilian bibliographies.

Throughout the volume the titles selected for mention are significant. Particularly helpful are the sidelights on and appraisal of such bibliographers as Nicolás Ant3nio, Barbosa Machado, Innocencio da Silva, Sacramento Blake, and the Figanières. Authors who have been names become personalities; titles are fitted into the current of development; and both authors and titles are evaluated with penetrating judgment.

For Professor Figueiredo believes that an inventory of publications is of secondary value. Cataloguing is essential: it assembles material for the critic who through textual criticism, determination of authorship, and study of the history and structure of the piece furnishes data for the final step in appraisal. To this point objectivity, scientific precision, patient (and often inspired) industry characterize the critic. The process thus far is teachable: one may learn the methods and apply them to the task in hand. Necessary and profitable as the results of this work may be, however, they are not the ultimate goal of criticism. A final evaluation, an act of judgment must weigh the data and produce some conclusion. This type of criticism cannot be taught: it is acquired through maturity, varied experience, sympathetic understanding, penetrating insight. It is an art, rather than a science. A true bibliography must include this final act of criticism.

Thus in the last lecture of the series Professor Figueiredo confesses to the standards which have crystallized in the course of his long years of experience. The whole book is an example of the creed by which he works.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

O Pan-Americanismo e o Brasil. By HELIO LOBO. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie 5 a. Vol. 169.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939. Pp. 150.)

This historical analysis of Pan-Americanism, written largely in Europe when the excesses of rule by force were already becoming apparent, is an ardent exhortation to maintenance of the ideal of peace through international law. The author speaks from experience of many phases of inter-American relations, having spent many years in the Brazilian diplomatic service.

Beginning with the first use of the term Pan-Americanism in connection with the First Inter-American Conference in 1889, Senhor Lobo analyzes its various definitions, and states that it is essentially an aspiration, a continental understanding for the common good. He then carries his study back to the Monroe Doctrine and shows how the conflicting interpretations of that pronouncement, unilateral and multilateral, have developed.

Two thirds of the book are devoted to the successive international conferences, and quotations are given illustrating the tone of each. Appraisals of progressive accomplishments are presented, rather than detailed accounts of events and agreements. Among the many political leaders and international lawyers whose work is cited, those of the United States such as James G. Blaine, Cordell Hull, James Brown Scott, and Leo S. Rowe appear in favorable light. The welcome change from the unilateral view of the Monroe Doctrine to the Good Neighbor Policy is particularly emphasized in connection with President Roosevelt's appearance at the Buenos Aires Conference in 1936.

The author's numerous earlier and more specialized works, which are cited here for further reference to his knowledge and opinions on special points, testify to his competence in this work to essay a philosophical explanation of Pan-Americanism. Necessarily, he admits, there have been much dreaming and many false steps in reaching the idea of an American family of nations as he sees it now. His conclusion is one of strong faith in the maintenance of peaceful coöperation in the New World in contrast to and defense against the rule of totalitarianism and war in the Old. Brazil, he says, has always supported movements toward inter-American solidarity and should do so in the future, without losing sight of its debt to its European background.

PHILIP C. BROOKS.

Washington, D. C.

A vida dramática de Euclides da Cunha. By ELOY PONTES. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1938. Pp. 342. 20\$000.)

In 1902 there appeared in the capital of Brazil a book, called *Os Sertões*, which was immediately acclaimed as a literary masterpiece. But it is not only as a work of art that this book has become known throughout Brazil and abroad: it also represents the first serious attempt ever made in that country to study the population of a well-defined region in terms of their physical and cultural environment. It occupies in Brazil a place similar to that of Sarmiento's *Facundo* in Argentina. It is indispensable to any one who wishes to acquaint himself with Brazil's social evolution.

Its author, Euclides da Cunha, was a strange combination of the highest intellectual qualities—insatiable curiosity, keenness of perception; and imagination—with an emotional instability bordering the pathological. An engineer by training and a great writer by vocation, he represents in the cultural development of Brazil a definite turning away from the servile imitation of European models towards a more serious study of national realities. Hence the importance of the book herein reviewed.

In the rapidly-growing bibliography on Euclides da Cunha (Venancio Filho's *Ensaio Bio-Bibliográfico*, published in 1931, mentions more than two hundred items) the biography written by Eloy Pontes occupies an important place. It was published as number thirteen of the *Collecção Documentos Brasileiros*, directed by Gilberto Freyre, the eminent Brazilian social anthropologist who is well known in this country. The first three chapters are devoted to the childhood and youth of Euclides da Cunha. Born in 1866 in Cantagallo, state of Rio de Janeiro, he lost his mother when only three years of age and was brought up in part by an uncle and an aunt who owned a farm in the same state. In 1879 his father took him to live in Rio de Janeiro, and seven years later he was admitted as a student in the Military Academy, where he studied mathematics, read the classics, wrote poetry of an extremely pessimistic inspiration, and saturated himself with the philosophy of Positivism through his contacts with Benjamin Constant, one of the most brilliant professors of that institution. The paragraphs in which the author describes the atmosphere prevailing at the Military Academy of Brazil prior to the republican revolution of 1889, and the influence exercised by the great republican leaders such as Alcindo Guanabara, Lopes Trovão, and others, upon the cadets, are interesting to the student of Brazilian history. One of the first acts of open rebellion against the authorities of the

Empire took place at the Academy in November of 1888 as a consequence of measures taken to prevent the cadets from taking part in a public manifestation of sympathy towards one of the republican leaders returning from Europe. It is interesting to note that Euclýdes da Cunha took a prominent part in the incident and was as a consequence expelled from the Academy. The pages devoted to this incident (60-84) are of interest. The chapter that follows, *Vida nova!* (pp. 85-136) contains also interesting information regarding the republican revolution of November 15, 1889 and subsequent political disturbances, particularly the revolt of the fleet in 1893 against the government of Floriano Peixoto.

The following chapter is devoted to the events that resulted in the writing of *Os Sertões*, i.e. the campaign of Canudos, in which successive military expeditions of the federal government were thrown against a group of religious fanatics led by Antonio Vicente Mendes Maciel, commonly known as "Antonio Conselheiro" in the interior of the state of Baía. Invited by the newspaper *Estado de São Paulo* to report on the campaign, Euclýdes da Cunha accompanied the expedition prepared and led by Marshal Carlos Machado Bittencourt, minister of war under President Prudente de Moraes Barros. In the capital, Antonio Conselheiro and his followers were considered as dangerous enemies of the new régime, inspired and supported by monarchical sympathizers. The whole country demanded a severe punishment of the rebels. But the truth is that these dangerous rebels were only a miserable and ignorant group of religious fanatics who heroically threw themselves against the federal bayonets in the defense of their churches, their hovels, and their women and children.

The discovery of this appalling truth led Euclýdes da Cunha to write *Os Sertões*, which is above all a denunciation of the indifference and negligence that resulted in the massacre of so many unfortunate men, women, and children.

Euclýdes da Cunha is also the author of two other important books, *A margem da história*, containing his impressions and observations during his trip to the Upper Purús as chief of the commission entrusted with the survey of the boundary line between Brazil and Peru as provided by the treaty of 1904; and *Perú versus Bolívia*, a study of the merits of the boundary controversy between those two countries. On his return from the trip to the Acre region he became one of the technical collaborators of the Baron do Rio Branco, then Minister of Foreign Affairs at Rio and engaged in the memorable work of defining the boundaries of Brazil with her neighbor nations. In July of 1909 Euclýdes da Cunha was appointed professor of

Philosophy at the model secondary school Pedro II, in the capital. The following month he was killed in an exchange of shots with an army officer as a result of some domestic drama, the details of which are not given by Eloy Pontes probably because the tragedy is still vividly remembered by most adult Brazilians and because some of the protagonists are still living.

Although a valuable contribution to the study of Euclides da Cunha's personality, the biography herein reviewed has several defects that detract slightly from its undeniable merits, such as the rather impressionistic style adopted by the author, the long quotations without paragraph divisions (from page 48 to 52 there is a single paragraph), and a somewhat unconvincing explanation of Euclides da Cunha's emotional instability in the light of many quotations from Ribot's *Les maladies de la volonté*. The book merits to be read by all students of Brazilian culture.

R. D'ÊÇA.

The George Washington University.

Mines and Minerals in Brazil. By JOSIAS LEÃO. [Studies in Brazilian Economic Life.] (Rio de Janeiro: Centro de Estudos Econômicos, 1939. Pp. 239.)

The Centro de Estudos Econômicos in Rio de Janeiro proposes to publish a series of monographs in English dealing with various aspects and problems of Brazilian economic life. This is the first of these monographs. The work was done in the economic division of the Ministério das Relações Exteriores, with the assistance of various other agencies of the federal government.

As an up-to-date source of reliable information this book fills an important need. Sr. Leão has done an admirable job of condensation, devoting space strictly in proportion to the economic importance of each of Brazil's numerous mineral resources. The book is entirely free from the propaganda and the enthusiastic claims so frequently encountered in treatments of this subject. For each of the more important resources the author presents in brief text and statistical tables the facts concerning its character, the location of the important sources and of the present mining operations, the names of the mining companies, and the significant figures of trade during the five years preceding 1938. In certain cases he also includes a translation of the codes decreed by the present government for the regulation of mining activities or of the activities of companies exploiting the resource—such as the much discussed "Water Code," which regulates the hydroelectric developments. For the ores of less importance a

brief statement of the character and present utilization is given. The geographer may regret the lack of maps (as opposed to cartograms), though the text includes the necessary data for the construction of maps.

Sr. Leão has made no attempt to discuss the problems involved in the exploitation of Brazil's mineral resources. In a sense his book constitutes a valuable factual appendix to previous writings on problems of mining and water-power development in Brazil. For these other treatments the student could not do better than to start with the remarkably complete study by Bain and Read (H. F. Bain and T. T. Read: *Ores and Industry in South America*, New York and London, 1934; reviewed in the *Geogr. Rev.*, Vol. 25, 1935, pp. 165-166). More recently an important discussion of the mineral wealth of Brazil has appeared in Portuguese (S. Fróes Abreu: *A riqueza mineral do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1937), in which the history and the present problems of mineral exploitation are presented with a remarkable freedom from bias toward the point of view of either the foreign promoter or the emotional nationalist. For the student of Brazilian mineral problems this book is indispensable. Note may also be made of the reviewer's presentation of the problem of iron-ore development, which is perhaps the most important mining problem Brazil is facing today (P. E. James: Itabira Iron, *Quart. Journ. of Inter-American Relations*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1939, pp. 37-48).

University of Michigan.

PRESTON E. JAMES.

Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1938. A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1938 on Anthropology, Archives, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language and Literature, and Libraries. Edited for the Committee on Latin American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies by LEWIS HANKE and RAUL D'ÊÇA. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939. Pp. xvi, 468, 1 l. \$4.00.)

This fourth number of the *Handbook* series is slightly smaller than the two preceding volumes, and is selective, not comprehensive. Yet it contains new sections on Archives, Physical Anthropology, Libraries, and a record of international agreements between the Latin-American nations. The continued sections are on Anthropology, Brazilian Art, Spanish-American Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Cartography, Geography, Government, History, Language and Literature, and Law. The coming year will see a new section on Music. The special contributions which characterized previous vol-

umes have been reduced to provide room for the bibliography proper, each section of which is preceded by a "General Statement."

A valid criticism of the series so far is that it does not indicate where the items listed may be found nor as a rule, their price. These defects are probably to be remedied in future, and the editor promises a statement on bibliographical activities in the field, and perhaps a subject and author index of the five volumes. At present, it is necessary to search all four volumes for a topic, a task not easy because the classifications are not uniform in the four volumes. The librarian who undertakes to acquire annually a reasonable proportion of the items listed for the year (this volume lists 4,573 books and articles besides twenty-four pages of unnumbered items on German colonization in southern Brazil) is confronted by a stupendous task. Those who are best helped by this *Handbook* series are probably doctoral candidates in the disciplines represented. For such researchers, the bibliographical comments are useful; it is to be remembered, however, that many titles are far better than the treatment in the book, a criticism not confined to Latin-American productions. Probably adverse criticism of books which do not fulfill their titles could be achieved by exclusion better than by pallid comment. Furthermore, the time lapse between the appearance of an item from the press and the publication of its title in the *Handbook* is so long that purchase is often well-nigh impossible. This is a difficulty which, it is to be hoped, may in time be remedied by organization of the Latin-American book trade and its issue of a combined list analogous to the *Publishers' Weekly* for the United States. Efforts by the Pan American Union and the Division of Cultural Relations seem to be moving in this direction. By such means, the habitually small and often fugitive edition of Latin-American books would be made known to purchasers before they go out of print. If the yearly census of Latin-American literature were made the function of a group of trained and paid bibliographers it could be made more inclusive, and if the professorial committee were to continue with this its supervisory functions, each year's compilation would be practically definitive and complete.

This number of the *Handbook* is outstanding because of its inclusion of an article by Reinhard Maaek, "Die Deutsche Literatur über die Deutsche Einwanderung und Siedlung in Südbrasilien" (pp. 99-403); with selected bibliography (to p. 417) and another by Alexander Marchant, "Writings in English, French, Italian and Portuguese concerning the German Colonies in Southern Brazil" (pp. 418-423) with selected bibliography (to p. 431). The items in these two articles are unnumbered.

The series is sponsored by the Committee on Latin-American Studies, composed of seven members, one of whom represents the area in the United States once Spanish American. Of the thirty-six Contributing Editors, five are so located. The scholars and institutions throughout the world represented by contributions are widely distributed. The product is the most successful of all attempts.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

University of California, Berkeley.

BOOK NOTICES

Efemérides Brasileiras. By BARÃO DO RIO-BRANCO. Second edition, revised by PROF. BASÍLIO DE MAGALHÃES. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938. Pp. 996. 20\$000.)

In the history of republican Brazil the Baron do Rio Branco occupies a prominent place as a diplomat. He it was who settled most of the difficult boundary disputes of his country with its neighboring nations. Chosen to head the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Rio by President Rodrigues Alves in 1902, he continued to occupy that position until his death in 1912 under the presidency of Marshal Hermes da Fonseca. His capacity for work was extraordinary. At times he is known to have worked day and night for several successive days, stopping only occasionally to eat a sandwich or two. In his office at the Itamaraty Palace there were several desks piled high with papers on all sorts of important questions. On one of these desks attendants found after his death several sandwiches and a boiled egg in a plate under a pile of documents. Rio Branco had forgotten to eat his luncheon at some crucial moment of his career.

But besides being a diplomat, the Baron was also a scholar. His profound knowledge of the history of his country helped him more than once to win an otherwise doubtful victory. Among his papers at the Itamaraty there were copious notes on important events in the history of Brazil. These notes, edited by the distinguished Brazilian historian Basilio de Magalhães, were first published in the *Revista* of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro under the title of *Ephemérides Brasileiras* and later reprinted separately.

The quality and the amount of information contained in the volume have rendered it indispensable to the student of Brazilian history, especially in regard to all military events, of which Rio Branco was an enthusiastic student. The second edition of this work is now available with added notes and two valuable indexes, one of names and another of subjects, compiled by Professor Basilio de Magalhães.

R. D'ÊÇA.

O Acre e o Tratado de Petropolis. By VINÍCIO DA VEIGA. (Rio de Janeiro: "Jornal do Commercio," Rodrigues & Cia., 1939. Pp. 41. 10\$000.)

The Treaty of Petropolis, signed between Brazil and Bolivia in 1903, put to an end an old boundary dispute which nearly resulted

in war between Brazil and Bolivia first, and later on between Brazil and Peru, as a consequence of the so-called Acre question. Acre is the name given to a region of steaming jungle where the Juruá and the Purús have their sources, in the Amazon basin. This region is rich in rubber trees and since 1878 many Brazilian *seringueiros* had settled there. Their number reached about eighty thousand in 1903. Most of this region was well within Bolivian territory as recognized by Brazil in the treaty of 1867 and protocol of 1895. But in 1899 the *seringueiros*, disgruntled with the attitude of the Bolivian authorities, staged a revolt against them and declared themselves as an independent state. In 1900 the Bolivian troops were able to subdue the rebels and the following year the Bolivian government granted to an Anglo-American syndicate a concession to administer and exploit the Acre region in the name of Bolivia.

The Brazilian government protested, alleging that such a grant of political authority was dangerous to the neighboring states. In general, public opinion throughout South America condemned the Bolivian action. A new revolt took place in Acre, this time under the leadership of a Brazilian named Plácido Castro. When it became known that the Bolivian government was sending a military expedition to Acre, the Brazilian government did likewise.

When war seemed imminent between the two countries, the Baron do Rio Branco, then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, was able to negotiate a treaty with the Bolivian government which was signed at Petropolis, on November 17, 1903, and brought to an end the whole dispute.

This important treaty has been studied by various authors at one time and another. The pamphlet herein reviewed is a new contribution to this study. Its author, who is in the diplomatic service of Brazil, devotes the first pages of his work to a résumé of the question prior to 1903, then takes up the Peruvian claims in the matter, and finally considers in detail the *modus vivendi* of La Paz and the Treaty of Petropolis. Within its limited scope, it ought to prove useful to the student of Brazilian history.

R. D'EÇA.

El Nazismo en el Brasil. By PEDRO MOTTA LIMA and JOSÉ BARBOZA MELLO. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1938. Pp. v, 215.)

This book makes no pretense of being a scholarly investigation of the degree to which Nazism has or has not gained a foothold in Brazil. The authors confess that it was written in the "heat of events," although they insist that its accusations are based on authoritative

documentation. They assert that by 1937 the government and the reactionary elements had reached an understanding with the totalitarian states; that the coup d'état of November, 1937, and the constitution formulated by Francisco Campos delivered Brazil into the hands of Fascists who adhered to the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis; that the current foreign and domestic policy favorable to Italy, Japan, and Germany threatens the independence and even the existence of Brazil; that if salvation is to come, it must be by the union within the nation of the democratic elements, led by Osvaldo Aranha, the masses, and the proletariat, and by the coöperation of the democratic governments of the Americas.

A. K. M.

Dicionário da Terra e da Gente do Brasil. By BERNARDINO JOSÉ DE SOUZA. 4a Edição. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira: Serie 5a; Brasiliana, Vol. 164.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editoria Nacional, 1939. Pp. 433.)

In 1910 Bernardino José de Souza published his *Nomenclatura Geográfica Peculiar ao Brasil* with sixty-three items, re-published it seven years later under the same title with 173 items, changed the title to *Onomastica Geral da Geografia Brasileira* and issued a third edition in 1927 with 1,230 items, and now under the title above offers a fourth edition with 1,916 terms. Of the three titles used the last, suggested by Afranio Peixoto, is by far the most appropriate.

The book is invaluable as a source of information on local Brazilian idioms relating to physical, economic, political, and historical terminology. The items are listed alphabetically; the definition or definitions are given concisely; sources from which the author drew his information are cited and often examples are stated; the specific locality where the term is current is added; and extension of the meaning of a term into the realm of literature or science is pointed out.

A hurried glance through the volume will convince the most casual reader of the value of the work. Here one may find the answer to such questions as: What is the difference between a "caboclo" and a "caipira"? Is a "sesmaria" a royal land grant or an agrarian measure? Where is the "sertão"? Who is a "cangaceiro"? These and scores of other terms over which the North American scholar has puzzled are clarified, illustrated, and documented. The historian interested in Brazilian America should have this tool within reach.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue his indefatigable search for additional items with a view to a fifth edition proportionately enlarged.

A. K. M.

Índios do Brasil. By MAJOR [JOSÉ DE] LIMA FIGUEIREDO. Preface by GENERAL [CANDIDO] RONDON. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira: Serie 5a, Brasileira, Vol. 163.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939. Pp. 348.)

From 1928 to 1930 the author, assigned to the Frontier Inspection Service, traversed the regions drained by the rivers Juruá, Purús, Acre, and Abunã on the border between Brazil and Perú-Bolivia, and the rivers Pequiri and Ivary on the Paraguay-Argentine boundary. Inspection of the Paraná, Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul frontiers was interrupted by the revolution of 1930.

The book is the result of his travels. With no pretention of posing as a specialist Lima Figueiredo presents observations on the Brazilian Indian from the standpoint of an "intelligent explorer with curiosity in matters foreign to military science." He lists with brief annotations the tribes with which he came in contact, adding others, knowledge of which he gathered from reports of other travelers and of ethnographical specialists. The last hundred pages are devoted to short chapters on what are termed "Chronicas Indigenas," in reality brief disquisitions on Indian legends, customs, habits, etc. A seventy-page defense of the Indian by Candido Rondon prefaces the work of the author.

A. K. M.

Cartas de Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos, escritas do Rio de Janeiro a sua Família em Lisboa, de 1811 a 1821. Edited by RODOLFO GARCIA. Volume LVI (1934) of *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação, 1939. Pp. 459.)

On March 17, 1811, the son of the librarian of the Bibliotheca Real da Ajuda left Lisbon for Rio de Janeiro, accompanying the second shipment of books from the royal library to the court then located in Brazil. Soon after his arrival he became custodian of the royal manuscripts. Three years later he married the daughter of a wealthy Brazilian. By the time Dom João VI returned to Lisbon, Luiz Joaquim dos Santos Marrocos was director of the royal library in Rio. He elected to remain in Brazil, continuing to rise in the service of the Empire until his death in 1838.

Between April 12, 1811, some four weeks after he sailed from Lisbon, and March 26, 1821, when apparently the growing coolness of his relatives in Portugal stopped further correspondence, he wrote nearly two hundred letters to his family, the great majority addressed

to his father. Due to the position of the elder Santos Marrocos they were preserved in the archives of the Royal Library of Ajuda. In commemoration of one of the earliest of its functionaries the Biblioteca Nacional now prints these letters on the anniversary of the death of the writer, making available to all the documents which Manoel de Oliveira Lima used in manuscript form in preparation for his great work, *Dom João VI no Brasil*.

As the letters were not intended for publication, they are a curious mixture of information and gossip, of politics and local color, of bitter personal likes and courtly obsequiousness. The writer was in a position, as official curator of the royal manuscripts, to observe much and learn more. Throughout he maintained the utmost respect for personages of the royal family, even for D. Carlota Joaquina. In references to fellow Portuguese he repaid kindness with kindness, slights with bitter diatribes. For the Brazilian-born in the Court he nursed a consistent aversion, although his early hatred of Rio yielded to an affection which induced him in the end to prefer it to Lisbon.

The ten years covered by these letters constitute a critical period in the history of Portuguese America. Scholars interested in the transition of Brazil from colony to empire will find this volume of the *Anais* eminently valuable. The Biblioteca Nacional again is to be congratulated for this addition to a long series of splendid publications.

A. K. M.

Documentos sobre o Tratado de 1750. Edited by Rodolfo Garcia. Volumes LII (1930) and LIII (1931) of *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*. (Rio de Janeiro: Ministerio da Educação e Saúde—Serviço Grafico, 1938. Pp. 544, ix, map; 440, v, map.)

Effective work is being done by Brazilians to preserve records from destruction by pests and climatic conditions and to make source material available to the historian. State and national historical societies, local and national governments, and private initiative are coöperating in publishing edited and unedited documents. One of the most fruitful of these agencies is the Biblioteca Nacional which in its *Anais* has made available bibliographical guides, transcripts of rare documents, correspondence, memoirs, and similar material printed from originals in the library or in the national archives.

The two volumes under review contain documents copied from copies secured originally from the Arquivo Geral do Governo em Simancas and now preserved in the Arquivo do Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Coleção Varnhagen. They concern the execution

of the famous treaty of 1750 by which Spain and Portugal substituted the principal of *uti possidetis* for the Line of Demarcation as a basis for the settlement of boundary disputes. That the commissioners sent to determine the line encountered local difficulties, especially in connection with the Jesuit Missions, and dragged the matter out until the Seven Years' War led to the cancellation of the treaty does not detract from the value of the material here published. The documents written by ministers of state of both courts, commissioners, army officers, and Jesuit priests deal for the most part with the controversy in the South. They constitute valuable source material on a region and period notable for their controversial character and rich in local color.

An excellent photographic reproduction of the map of Brazil (dated 1749) used by the framers of the treaty is included in volume one; and a reprint of a Jesuit map of Paraguay (dated 1732) is available in volume two. The occasional notes by Dr. Garcia are so helpful that his reticence is to be lamented.

A. K. M.

Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro. By ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE. Translated by ORLANDO TORRES. Preface by BASILIO DE MAGALHÃES. Illustrated. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Series 5, Vol. 156.] (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939. Pp. XL, 668.)

Brazilian scholars are achieving considerable success in making available to their compatriots through translations the major works of Brazil written by distinguished foreigners. In 1938 the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro issued a translation of the monumental work of Spix and Martius. Now the Companhia Editora Nacional adds to its long list of publications a translation of Wallace's *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* first published in London in 1853 (the translation is taken from the second edition, issued by Ward, Lock and Company, London, 1889).

Interested in the problem of the origin of species Wallace induced Henry Walter Bates in 1848 to undertake with him a scientific expedition to the tropics. Wallace reported the results of his four years in his narrative of travels; Bates, remaining eleven years and penetrating to the headwaters of the Amazon, published his observations as *The Naturalist on the River Amazonas* (1863). Wallace was interested in procuring data bearing on the origin and evolution of species; Bates concentrated on entomology. Wallace's work is particularly interesting as it precedes Darwin's answer to the problem by six

years and it foreshadows his later reputation and extensive list of publications. His observations on the Amazon and Rio Negro valleys are of such value that Basilio de Magalhães welcomes the translation as a distinct addition to Brazilian knowledge.

A. K. M.

Brasil-Estados Unidos. (Rio de Janeiro: Diario de Noticias, 1939. Pp. iii, 539.)

In July, 1938, the *Diario de Noticias* published as supplements twenty-four numbers dedicated to the traditional ties binding Brasil and the United States of America. These supplements proved of such value that they were reprinted in the present volume. The contributors read like a "Who's Who" of the two republics. Among the more than one hundred listed are: Cordell Hull, Octavio Mangabeira, Jefferson Caffery, Sumner Welles, Hildebrando Accioly, Lindolfo Collor, L. S. Rowe, Pedro Calmon, Clarence H. Haring, Gilberto Freyre, Lewis Hanke, Goes Monteiro, Helio Lobo, Arthur Ramos, Max Handman, Daniel C. Roper. The articles concern history, biography, commercial and diplomatic relations, scientific and agricultural contributions, aviation, naval affairs, literature, the press. The collection purports to be "the richest repository of studies, documents, and general information concerning the United States and its relations with Brazil ever to appear" in the South American republic. The book is journalistic in purpose, methods, and results.

A. K. M.

Nossas Campanhas Navaes. A Conquista de Cayenna. By LUCAS ALEXANDRE BOITEUX. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Naval, 1939. Pp. iv, 32.)

In search of interesting episodes in the naval history of Brazil which might serve as illustrations of the theory taught to rising officers Boiteux hit upon the little known capture of French Guiana in 1808-09. Despite the technical and somewhat advanced nature of the knowledge requisite for complete comprehension of the pamphlet, the ministry of naval affairs ordered the work published for use in the Navy College. Boiteux, formerly staff officer of the navy and member of leading historical societies, is a recognized authority on Brazilian naval history.

A. K. M.

A Conquista do Brasil. By ROY NASH. Translated by MOACYR N. VASCONCELLOS. [Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira, Serie 5, Vol. 150.] São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939. Pp. 501.)

One of the most fecund sources of Brazilian material is to be found in the publications of the Companhia Editora Nacional (Rua dos Gusmões, 118-140, São Paulo). In the effort to make available works essential to the student of Brazilian social, economic, and cultural life and history the company has already published over 160 volumes in its *Brasiliana* series. These works include titles dealing with anthropology, archeology, biography, medicine, politics, law, economics, education, science, geography, folklore, travels, history, geology. Some are reprints of out-of-date classics; some are new works by modern scholars; some are translations of notable foreign books significant to Brazilian life.

The present volume is a translation of Roy Nash's *Conquest of Brazil*, copyrighted by Harcourt, Brace and Company in 1926. Well known to American scholars interested in the conquest of the vast interior by the meagre manpower available, Nash's work has now been recognized by Brazilians as of sufficient value to warrant translation.

A. K. M.

Getulio Vargas (Esboço de biografia). By EPITACIO PESSÔA CAVALCANTI DE ALBUQUERQUE. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938. Pp. 162.)

General Vargas. By VARGAS NETTO. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938. Pp. 57.)

These are two eulogies of the strong man of Brazil. The first, by a young fanatical follower of Vargas, is the more pretentious: it attempts a brief biography from childhood through the revolution. The second, a publication of the National Department of Propaganda, is a literary effusion.

A. K. M.

Sete Anos de Política Exterior do Brasil (Aspectos Principaes) 1930-1937. By JAYME DE BARROS. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1938. Pp. 119.)

The National Department of Propaganda here presents the Brazilian version of the Letitia incident, the Chaco question, and the Inter-American Peace Conference. The events of these seven years have "augmented the economic power of Brazil, paralleling its growing

political prestige." For those who prefer it, a Spanish translation was issued under the title *Ocho Años de Política Exterior del Brasil*.

A. K. M.

Brazilian Medical Contributions. By LEONIDIO RIBEIRO. (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio, 1939. Pp. 181.)

Commissioned to compile for the New York World's Fair in an abridged and illustrated form the most important research works, the discoveries, and the practical achievements contributed by Brazilian physicians to medical science, the author prepared his finished product for the use of universities and public libraries in the United States rather than for the general public. His book represents the first effort of its kind in Brazilian literature.

Although the book evidences the pressure of time under which the author labored, it is nonetheless a contribution of no mean merit. The sections on the Butantan and the Oswaldo Cruz institutes, leprosy, and yellow fever are instructive. Other divisions discuss: federal public health, mineral and thermal springs, health service of Rio de Janeiro, distinguished physicians, particular diseases, and special fields of research. Illustrations are numerous.

A. K. M.

The Lusiad by Luis de Camoens translated by Richard Fanshawe.

Edited, with an introduction, by JEREMIAH D. M. FORD. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. xxix, 307. \$3.50.)

Professor Ford, of Harvard University, whose regard for Portuguese culture has already been shown in such works as his Portuguese grammar (with Drs. Hills and Coutinho) and his edition of the letters of Dom João III, has properly chosen the present anniversary year as the occasion to publish a new edition of Fanshawe's translation of *Os Lusíadas*. The work does not pretend to be, nor could it scarcely have been, ambitious; but Fanshawe's vivid *Lusiad*, which is now rendered easily accessible, and the editor's scholarly introduction will do much to increase interest among English-speaking people in the greatest of Portuguese poets.

Exception might be taken to Professor Ford's spelling of the poet's name on the editor's title page. This reviewer, at least, would have preferred the form "Luiz de Camões."

M. S. C.

D. Maria I 1717-1792 subsídios para a revisão da história do seu reinado (Com quatro heliogravuras, e fac-similes de várias cartas). By CAETANO BEIRÃO. (Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1934. Pp. xii, 454. Second edition.)

The administration of the first reigning Queen of Portugal, who is especially remembered in Brazilian history as the mother of Dom João VI, is portrayed by the author in a thick volume of 417 pages of text. The book is divided into fourteen chapters: half of them are used to dispose of, and bury, the dictatorial regime of the Marquess of Pombal; the other half, to describe the achievements of, and life during, the new reign.

In his well-documented work, Snr. Beirão embodies much inedited material from Spanish and Portuguese archives, by means of which he is able not only to explain most of the course of contemporary Hispano-Portuguese relations but also to paint the queen as a lovable, kindly, essentially feminine woman whose abhorrence of extremes gave a new direction to national affairs. Needless to say, the author also relies on the standard published works in the field, including accounts of foreign travelers in Portugal. His critical apparatus is good; reference citations are adequate. There are two valuable appendices. In the first are published, among other correspondence, numerous letters of the Queen to her relatives in the Court of Madrid; the second is a list of the known iconography of Dona Maria. The book, finally, contains a useful onomastic index.

The sub-title of the work is significant: "materials for the revision of the history of her reign." Snr. Beirão has properly pointed out that the insanity which finally overcame the queen should not be used to condemn her administration; that she was not the superstitious religious fanatic some historians have pictured her to be; and that her reign was marked by remarkable achievement in many fields of Portuguese life. This study can hardly be called, in short, either a biography of Dona Maria or an exhaustive survey of her times; but it casts much light on an *intermezzo* period of Portuguese history which follows the harsh rule of Pombal and precedes the disasters of Constitutionalism.

Despite its many admirable qualities, the book sins from the tendency of the author to explain the queen's public life in the most favorable colors. If historians in the past have treated Dona Maria unkindly, Snr. Beirão has swung the pendulum in the opposite direction. His approach is undoubtedly closer to historical truth, as the reader may gather, but it might not have been at all out of place to stress the fact that she was human and, therefore, liable to err.

M. S. C.

História Breve da Literatura Brasileira. By JOSÉ OSÓRIO DE ALMEIDA. (Lisboa, 1939.)

This work, by the young Portuguese writer whose efforts on behalf of a closer intellectual understanding between Brazil and her former mother country are well known, is the best and most comprehensive of the many critical works on the literature of the American nation which have appeared in Portugal. The author's pages on the modern school of writers in Brazil and the influence of Brazilian social life on the present literary movement are especially penetrating.¹

M. S. C.

IIIe Congrès International d'Histoire des Sciences Tenu au Portugal du 30 septembre au 6 octobre 1934, sous le Haut Patronage de S. E. le Président de la République Portugaise. Actes, Conférences et Communications. (Lisboa: Printed at Calçada do Tejolo, 37-A, 1936. Pp. xlix, 462.)

Edited by Dr. Arlindo Camilo Monteiro, secretary of the "Grupo Português de História das Ciências" of Lisbon, the present volume contains a number of important monographs written, principally, by European scholars. Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo contributes "Para a história da crítica literária em Portugal: a reconstituição da literatura medievá"; Prof. João Martins da Silva Marques, "De l'Histoire de la Paléographie en Portugal"; Commander A. Fontoura da Costa, "L'Allmanach Perpetuum de Abraham Zacut. Leiria, 1496"; Prof. José Millás Vallicrosa, "Un almanaque português del siglo XIV"; Dr. Arlindo Camilo Monteiro, "De l'Influence portugaise au Japon"; Prof. Luiz de Pina, "Um manuscrito do século XVIII sobre Flora Médica Timorense"; Prof. Alberto Rocha Brito, "As epidemias do século XVI e as Câmaras de Coimbra"; Prof. Karl Sudhoff, "Pedro Hispano ou, melhor, Pedro Lusitano, professor de medicina e filosofia e, finalmente, Papa João XXI"; Dr. Tricot-Royer, "Les 'Coloquios' de Garcia d'Orta aux officines Plantin, à Anvers"; Prof. J. Betten-court Ferreira, "Acêrca da 'Viagem Filosófica' do Dr. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira e da colonização portuguesa no Brasil (1783-1793)"; Vice-Admiral Augusto Ramos da Costa, "Alguns dados para a história da Oceanografia em Portugal"; and Ayres de Sá, "Gonçalo Velho e Cristóvão Colombo."

M. S. C.

¹ This information was supplied by Dr. Gilberto Freyre, of Recife.

Colecção de documentos relativos ao descobrimento e povoamento dos Açores. Edited, with a critical essay, by MANUEL MONTEIRO VELHO ARRUDA. (Ponta Delgada: Oficina de Artes Gráficas, 1932. Pp. clxxxiii, 251.)

Although published a good many years ago, on the occasion of the fifth centenary of the discovery of the Azores, this collection of documents merits a belated note if only to point out the reviewer's conviction that it should be included in every American library interested in the history of Portugal's overseas expansion.

A comprehensive introduction on the early history of the islands by a well-known resident of São Miguel is followed by a series of excerpts taken from standard works: Gomes Eanes de Azurara, Diogo Gomes de Sintra, Martin Behaim (notes on the Azores as found on the Nuremberg map), Valentim Fernandes Alemão, João de Barros, and Gaspar Frutuoso. This part is in turn followed by thirty-nine documents (mostly epistolary), the earliest of which is dated 1439 and the latest 1550. Through the work of CLXXXIII-228 pages of text are interspersed fifteen reproductions of cartographic and iconographic items illustrative of Azorean history.

Sr. Arruda's collection and preface will be welcomed as an admirable addition to the exiguous body of information on an archipelago whose colonization was successfully launched by Portugal more than five centuries ago.

M. S. C.

D. João III. By ALFREDO PIMENTA. (Pôrtô: Livraria Tavares Martins, 1936. Pp. xiv, 365. 20 Escudos.)

Alfredo Pimenta, a member of the staff of the Tôrre do Tombo National Archives, of Lisbon, is never more happy than when he feels impelled to rewrite what fellow historians have said. Sr. Pimenta has taken upon himself the, at times, ungrateful task of analyzing even the minutest details of Portuguese history and of questioning every remark that is not, in his opinion, based on adequate documentary evidence. Some people have construed his researches in the light of personal injury and have heaped upon him no end of abuse; but Sr. Pimenta, however much he may be accused of lacking intellectual chivalry, cannot be so lightly ignored. Despite the tumultuous road over which he has travelled, he has done, and is doing, a great service to Portuguese history.

Sr. Pimenta's *D. João III* is a point in question. His studies of the reign which followed that of Dom Manuel I led him to believe that

the monarch had been maligned; Herculano, among others, has, he feels, distorted facts in interpreting the activities of a man who was called upon to consolidate the empire which Vasco da Gama and his successors had conquered. Moreover, Dom João had never been properly treated. Neither the *Crónica* of Francisco de Andrada nor the *Anais* of Frei Luiz de Sousa give the complete picture of the king. Convinced that "reformatar a Inteligência e os Sentimentos é a grande obra a realizar em Portugal" (preface), Sr. Pimenta has, therefore, set out to gather new information on, and analyze, a constructive period of history, and endeavored, with considerable success, to show that "D. João III, longe de ser o rancoroso fanático que a História romântica e revolucionária, anti-portuguesa e incientífica, tem proclamado, foi o Rei íntegro, plenamente consciente das suas responsabilidades, e fiel constantemente aos seus deveres, que os documentos coevos nos desenham" (p. 329).

D. João III is far from being a definitive monograph or devoid of faults. Sr. Pimenta's treatment of the Inquisition, which he justifies, is particularly deficient; the author either should not have attempted to do what he did at all or should have advanced more plausible reasons.

Incomplete though it is, *D. João III*, simmered from a large body of materials, is an excellent piece of research. The tendency of the narrative to assume periodical crises of indignation should not detract from the inherent merits of the work, which must be consulted not only by those who would write on the same subject but also by those who wish only to familiarize themselves with the period.

M. S. C.

A Universidade de Coimbra esboço da sua história. By MÁRIO BRANDÃO and M. LOPES D'ALMEIDA. (Coimbra: Por ordem da Universidade, 1937. Pp. 227-134.)

To write the history of the oldest university in Portugal is the complicated task which Drs. Mário Brandão and M. Lopes de Almeida have set out to discharge in this nicely printed and illustrated volume issued to commemorate the fourth centenary of the institution's definitive establishment in Coimbra. The book is divided into two chronological parts. The first, written by Dr. Brandão, treats the years 1290-1580; the second, by Dr. Almeida, the years 1580-1937.

The authors have not attempted to write an exhaustive study, although most of the salient facts connected with the development of the university are given. Moreover, the thought of writing an intellectual history of Coimbra and, thereby, of focussing the influence of

her teachers and students beyond the pale of the classroom was alien to the authors' purpose. The latter remark should not be taken as a direct criticism, for the title of the work is plain enough; yet it may perhaps not be too sanguine to expect such an intellectual history from the two scholars who have already laid a commendable groundwork. Certainly the position of Coimbra as a stronghold of the best of Portuguese traditions and culture merits it.

The book is incomplete in the sense that it should have included a separate chapter on the recent history of the university, that is, from 1850 to the present day. Dr. Almeida hastily calls his part of the work "A universidade de 1580 a 1937," which is manifestly too inclusive. The lack of time way well have been to blame for his deficiency, but one is forced to observe that the banalities with which Dr. Almeida disposes of a period of some ninety years, on the last page of his monograph, are exceedingly thin. It should have been interesting to have had his impressions on the extinction of the University Press, a measure which, in this reviewer's opinion, was a great blow to Portuguese culture.

M. S. C.

Portugal em Roma. By FATHER JOSÉ DE CASTRO. (Lisboa: União Gráfica, 1938. Pp. 438, 422.)

The recent signing of a concordat between Portugal and the Vatican, reëstablishing the harmonious relations which, for centuries, existed between the two contracting parties, gives a definite timeliness to the author's work. In a brief preface, Father Castro confesses that he is only a "guest" in "historical studies" and consequently begs the reader to excuse his faults. Although *Portugal em Roma* is no great treatise, Father Castro is probably too modest; much interesting information may be gleaned from these two thick volumes.

The title of the work is quite appropriate and self-explanatory: Father Castro has written a history of the Portuguese, and of Portuguese interests, in Rome. The approach is definitely anecdotal and narrative. Father Castro speaks of the Church of St. Anthony of the Portuguese (*Santo António dos Portugueses*) in Rome and, from out of the long period which lies between the pontificates of Clement XI and Pius IX, selects those incidents, of greater or lesser importance, which deal in some way with Portugal.

The appendices are especially helpful. Father Castro lists the saints of Portugal, important bulls dealing with Portuguese history, visits made by various popes to the Church of Saint Anthony of the Portuguese in Rome, cardinal-protectors of Portugal, Portuguese

cardinals, cardinal archbishops of Lisbon, cardinal patriarchs of Lisbon, crown cardinals (Bragança dynasty), Portuguese representatives at the general councils of the occident, representatives of the Holy See in Portugal, representatives of Portugal to the Vatican, rectors, vice-rectors, and students of the Portuguese College in Rome since its founding in 1899, and (curiously enough) the people who embarked with the Portuguese court for Brazil in 1807.

M. S. C.

NOTES AND COMMENT

GENERAL

AMERICAN SCHOLARS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

Louis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation and Editor of the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, has made a trip to every South American republic, visiting libraries, archives, and other centers of research in behalf of the Library of Congress. The official order directed him "to visit South America on official business of the Library of Congress, in connection with the acquisition of material for its collections by purchase, gift, and exchange; to establish scholarly relations with libraries, universities, and other learned institutions, particularly in the field of bibliography and other bibliothecal activities; to further the more effective exchange of official government publications; and also to develop a better appreciation of our mutual cultural values."

Herbert E. Bolton, professor emeritus of the University of California, has prepared an extensive expedition to trace the trail of Coronado.

Robert Chester Smith, Jr., Assistant Director of the Hispanic Foundation at the Library of Congress, visited Portugal during June to assist at the Double Centennial celebrations as a representative of the United States Government. He has also been granted a Guggenheim fellowship to enable him to prepare a history of fine arts in Brazil from pre-Colombian times to the present day.

In Chile this year there are among others the following exchange students: Harry D. Tomlinson, University of Indiana; Dorothy M. Field, University of Chicago; Peter Blake, Jr., Duke University; and Clarence Kraft, Oregon State College.

DOCUMENTARY COLLECTIONS

An important documentary collection which concerns Spain and Portugal, with emphasis upon Portugal and Portuguese America, is the Lima Library to which Manoel S. Cardoza has been appointed recently as assistant curator under Sra. Oliveira Lima, wife of the

donor. The Lima Library was collected by the late Manoel de Oliveira Lima, Brazilian diplomat and historian.

More than forty thousand books, periodicals, and manuscripts comprise the collection, some of which are entered in the guide: *Bibliographical and historical description of the rarest books in the Oliveira Lima Collection at the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1927). The library contains excellent travel books on colonial and imperial Brazil; numerous contemporary records and accounts of the Dutch invasions in Brazil; valuable collections of Brazilian State Papers, including the annals of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies during the imperial period, and the annual reports of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1846 to date; and information on the Portuguese Inquisition, the administration of Pombal, the Peninsular War, the reign of Dom Miguel, Amazonian exploration, the Society of Jesus, and other similar subjects.

Mention should also be made of the Library's collection of early nineteenth-century Portuguese and Brazilian newspapers, which include such items as *Correio Brasiliense*, *Investigador Português em Londres*, *o Portugues*, *o Correio da Península*, *Almanach de Lisboa*, and *Diário das Côrtes Gerais, Extraordinarias, e Constituintes da Nação Portuguesa*.

The manuscripts are divided under four main headings: (1) "Portuguese diplomatic papers, official and private, of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," (2) "Portuguese genealogy," (3) "India and Brazil," (4) "Miscellaneous papers." Before his death in 1928, Lima had gathered extensive notes on the manuscripts with the intention of preparing a guide to the collection. The completion of this guide is now contemplated.

In addition to its printed and manuscript material, the library contains about five hundred paintings, engravings, prints, and photographs, including such items as: a rare print of Francisco de Miranda, an original painting by Frans Post, four oils of the Brazilian imperial children—Dom Pedro, Dona Paula, Dona Januária, and Dona Francisca—and Pelligrini's Dom João VI, a contemporary photograph of López of Paraguay, and a valuable engraving of the Congress of Vienna.

The Lima Library is housed in the Mullen Library building at the Catholic University, and is open daily, Monday through Friday, from nine o'clock in the morning to four-thirty o'clock in the afternoon. On Saturday the closing hour is one o'clock in the afternoon.

DOUBLE CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDATION AND
RESTORATION OF PORTUGAL

Eight centuries of Portuguese history are being celebrated during 1940. Included on the program are religious ceremonies, patriotic visits, pageants, popular festivals, the opening of new institutions, special dramatic and musical performances, athletic events, exhibits, and a general congress of the Portuguese World. The commemorations began June 2 and are to continue until December 2, 1940. They are not limited to Lisbon, but are to be held all over Portugal, the adjacent islands, the colonies in Africa, Asia, Australasia, and the New World.

The celebrations are divided into three periods: the medieval cycle, during the first fortnight in June; the imperial cycle, which lasts until the middle of July, and the Braganza cycle, beginning on November 10. Important events are: the Congress of the Portuguese World, including a Portuguese-Brazilian Congress of History and a Colonial Congress, and exhibit of old Portuguese maps, a bibliographical and documentary exposition, and the inauguration of a new collection of Portuguese primitives in the Museum of the Janelas Verdes, at Lisbon.

The Congress of the Portuguese World is scheduled in the three university cities of Portugal, that is to say, Coimbra, Lisbon, and Oporto, and is to begin on July 1. The general plan of this congress includes the following sections: (1) the pre-history and proto-history of Portugal down to the Christian re-conquest, (2) pre-historic and proto-historic anthropology, (3) medieval Portugal, from the origins and formation of Portuguese nationality to the beginning of its expansion overseas, (4) the discoveries and colonization down to the crisis of 1580, (5) the dual monarchy and the restoration down to the peace with Spain, 1578-1668, (6) from the restoration to constitutional government, 1668-1834, (7) constitutionalism down to the Great War, (8) discovery, colonization, and formation of Brazil, 1500-1822, (9) history of Portuguese scientific activity, and (10) a Colonial Congress.

The section devoted to the study of the discovery, colonization and formation of Brazil will assume special importance, constituting a Portuguese-Brazilian Congress of History, which will be inaugurated at the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, on October 28. The Colonial Congress was composed of three sections: one to study the problems of scientific colonial research, such as those of ethnography, anthropology, archaeology, languages, and medicine; another section

to discuss problems of colonization and population in the two principal Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique; and the third to deal with the economic aspects of colonization, particularly the defense of imperial economy and the coördination of economic life at home and overseas.

To promote the commemoration of the Portuguese Double Centennial in the United States, a National Advisory Committee was organized under the chairmanship of Dr. João de Bianchi, Portuguese Minister at Washington. The following persons are members of this committee: Dr. J. D. M. Ford, Harvard University; Dr. John Tate Lanning, Duke University; Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, The National Archives; Dr. Owen Lattimore, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University; Dr. Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University; Dr. Percy A. Martin, Stanford University; Dr. Raye R. Platt, American Geographical Society; Dr. Robert G. Caldwell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Dr. Mary W. Williams, Goucher College; Rev. Robert I. Gannon, Fordham University; Dr. Archibald MacLeish, Library of Congress; Rev. Edmund G. Walsh, The Georgetown University; Dr. Samuel Eliot Morison, Harvard University; Dr. Gilbert Grosvenor, National Geographic Society; Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, University of California; Dr. Edwin B. Williams, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, The George Washington University; Dr. Lewis Hanke, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress; Dr. John C. Patterson, American University; Rev. Dr. Francis B. Steck, The Catholic University; Mr. Richard Pattee, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State; Dean Henry G. Doyle, The George Washington University; Mr. William Brooks Greenlee; and Dr. Raul d'Eça, The George Washington University. This committee has adopted a program of lectures, publications, exhibits, concerts, and a literary and historical essay contest for college and university students.

D. João de Bianchi, on June 2, 1940, began the celebrations in the United States with the following message:

The Commemorations in which we are participating, to celebrate the Eighth Centenary of the Foundation of Portugal, were announced some two years ago by Dr. Salazar, the Prime Minister, as a "Great family festival." Those were days of peace as compared with the devastating cauldron into which humanity has now plunged. But never is the call of the family or a family reunion more inspiring or congenial than when the storm is raging. It gives strength and courage to each and all the members.

In the present dark hours the need for self-reliance and moral vigor has never been greater. Let us, the Portuguese Family, wherever we may be, derive, from this spiritual gathering, the contemplation of our glorious history and the achieve-

ments of the present, the fortitude required to witness or endure suffering and the determination to be a well-wrought cornerstone in the edifice of the future Peace.

PORTUGUESE SUBJECTS IN THE INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES

The Institute of Latin-American Studies, held this summer at Austin under the auspices of the Committee of Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the University of Texas, paid considerable attention to Portuguese subjects. In history Mr. Castañeda gave a course on the history of Spain and Portugal, 1500-1821. And in the sphere of Portuguese courses were offered by Senhora Cecília Meireles, former Lecturer at the University of Coimbra, in Brazilian civilization and in modern Brazilian literature.

ACTIVITIES OF SOCIETIES

The Institute of Ibero-American Studies, founded in 1939 through the initiative of Martin R. P. McGuire, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences at Catholic University, is becoming increasingly active. Richard Pattee, of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, is acting director of the Institute. Besides coördinating the Hispanic-American work at the University, the Institute is sponsoring a number of monographs, the first of which, *The Ethnology of South America*, by John M. Cooper, is scheduled to appear in the near future. Membership in the Institute is open to all persons qualified to coöperate in its activities.

In Havana, Cuba, the Sociedad Colombista Panamericana announced that it had been given charge of the Bureau for Historical Research in Cuba. The presidential decree, issued on October 24, 1939, authorized the Society to make searches, to consult, extract, copy, photograph, photostat, and make facsimiles of documents in all the archives of Cuba. The Society now has clerks available for this work upon request.

HISTORICAL PROJECTS

A number of historical works are in progress which should be mentioned here. The Argentine Ministry of Education has included, among other Brazilian books which it plans to translate and publish,

Casa Grande & Senzala, by Gilberto Freyre. The Spanish translation of this work has been turned over to Benjamín de Garay, whose intimate knowledge of Brazilian life was gained through a long residence in Brazil.

Sobrados e Mucambos, by Gilberto Freyre, concerning the decline of Brazilian patriarchal society is being translated by Manoel S. Cardozo, of the Catholic University of America and the Lima Library.

O Mundo que o Português Creou, the latest study by Gilberto Freyre, will be published during the current year. In his new book, which is an expansion of the lectures given in 1937 at the Universities of Lisbon and Oporto and at King's College, London, Freyre treats of Brazil, Portugal, and the Portuguese Empire as a "unity of sentiment and culture." The problems arising from the contact of Luso-Brazilian culture with foreign cultures brought to Brazil by non-Portuguese immigrants during the past century and the first part of the present century are also broached. As he observes in the February 27, 1940, issue of the *Diário de São Paulo*, the author believes that the pattern of Brazilian life should be enriched by the contributions of alien groups in the country.

Under the direction of António Baião, Hernani Cidade, and Manuel Múrias, director of the Torre do Tombo National Archives, professor in the University of Lisbon, and director of the Colonial Archives, respectively, a comprehensive work on Portuguese colonial expansion, *História da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo*, is now in the course of publication. This monumental coöperative work, appearing under the patronage of the Portuguese ministries of the Colonies and of Education, will include contributions from a number of Brazilian scholars. Authors and topics are as follows: Gilberto Freyre, "Povoamento, incorporação dos índios e dos negros"; Basilio de Magalhães, "Os bandeirantes e o reconhecimento do interior"; Pedro Calmon, "O Brasil—defesa da unidade territorial contra a fixação estrangeira"; Jaime Cortesão, "O regimen da administração do Brasil"; Serafim Leite, S. J., "A expansão portuguesa pela acção dos missionários."

Dante de Laytano, the Rio Grande do Sul writer, is preparing a *Guia de Rio Pardo*. The publication of such a useful work on this characteristically Luso-Brazilian city of the extreme south of Brazil will be highly welcomed.

The Agência Geral das Colónias, of Lisbon, is at the moment engaged in the preparation of a work on Portuguese imperial history

to which a select group of Portuguese and Brazilian scholars have been asked to contribute.

Gonçalves Dias is the subject of a book which Lucia Miguel Pereira will publish, possibly during the present year. The study is based upon letters and other personal papers of Gonçalves Dias.

In Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, the newspaper *Jornal do Brasil* is publishing a weekly supplement devoted to the Portuguese Centennial. Afranio Peixoto, Fernando de Magalhães, and other prominent Brazilians are contributing.

The Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional of Brazil has begun the restoration and repair of the old Jesuit church of São Miguel, located in the Missões region of Rio Grande do Sul. In an annex of the same structure, a museum, containing numerous images and other objects of sacred art, has been opened. Both the church and the museum afford interesting possibilities for the study of colonial religious art.

Charles E. Chapman, professor at the University of California, has in preparation a biography of Mariano Melgarejo, a colorful caudillo who well typifies one of the very turbulent periods in Bolivian history.

CHESTER L. GUTHRIE.

The National Archives.

REPORT ON THE SECTION OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY, EIGHTH AMERICAN SCIENTIFIC CONGRESS

One of the sections of the Eighth American Scientific Congress, which met in Washington, D. C., from May 10 to May 18, was devoted to history and geography. The committee which organized it was composed of the following persons: C. H. Haring, Professor of Latin American History and Economics, Harvard University, *Chairman*; Preston James, Professor of Geography, University of Michigan, *Vice-Chairman*; Robert C. Smith, Assistant Director, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, *Secretary*. During the sessions the following vice-presidents were elected: Pedro Sánchez, Director, Instituto Pan Americano de Geografía e Historia, Mexico; Jorge Basadre, University of San Marcos, Lima; and Daniel Samper Ortega, Counselor of the Colombian Embassy in Washington. Some fifty distinguished historians and geographers from this country and Latin America attended the meetings. Among the Latin Americans present were: Delgado de Carvalho, Francisco Radler de Aquino, and Nelson de Senna of Brazil; Daniel Samper Ortega of Colombia; Salvador Massip and Fernando Ortiz of Cuba; Rodolfo Brito Foucher, Pedro Sánchez, Silvio Zavala of Mexico; Jorge Basadre of Peru; José Coll-Cuchí and Rafael Picó of Puerto Rico; and Juan Lagomarsino of Uruguay.

In all, six meetings of the section were held; of these four took place in the lecture room of the National Academy of Sciences. One, a joint session with the Section on Statistics, was held at the auditorium of the Department of Commerce, while another joint session, this time with the Section on Anthropology, met at the Elihu Root Auditorium, Carnegie Institution of Washington.

In conjunction with these meetings an important exhibition of maps was held in the library and adjacent rooms of the National Academy of Sciences building. This exhibition, arranged by Col. Lawrence Martin of the Library of Congress, contained recent outstanding cartographic productions of this country and Latin America lent by the American Geographical Society (the One Millionth Map exhibit), the National Geographic Society, the various Latin American missions in Washington and a number of government bureaus.

The first of the section meetings, May 11, at which C. H. Haring, the chairman, presided, was devoted to the *History of Exploration and Cartography*. John K. Wright, Director of the American Geographical Society, read a paper prepared by Raye Platt entitled *Milestones in American Cartography*, in which the author traced the development of mapmaking in Latin America, from colonial times to the present, pointing out in some detail the great undertakings culminating in the One Millionth map project of recent days. In his paper, *The Earliest Spanish Advances Southward from Panama Along the West Coast of South America*, Robert Cushman Murphy, American Museum of Natural History, traced in detail the explorations of the Darien region at the beginning of the sixteenth century, comparing the descriptions of the country furnished by travellers' accounts with photographs of its present appearance. Col. Lawrence Martin, Chief of the Division of Maps, Library of Congress, in his paper entitled, *Early Explorations and Investigations in Southern South America and Adjacent Antarctic Waters by Mariners and Scientists from the United States of America*, spoke of the expeditions made in 1829 down the Chilean coast by Capt. Nathaniel Brown Palmer in the brig *Annawan* and by Capt. Benjamin Pendleton in the *Seraph* and the scientific consequences of these voyages. A final paper, *Mirages Prompted by the So-Called "Del Cano, 1523," and "Mapamundi / Fragmento / MDXX,"* sent to the Congress by Buenaventura Caviglia (Hijo), of Montevideo, was not received in time to be read at the section meeting. All three papers were widely discussed, setting a precedent which was followed in all subsequent meetings.

Proceedings were continued on Monday, May 13, Pedro Sánchez presiding, with a double bill of discussion, *The Changing Economic Role of the Americas From Colonial Times to the Present*, and *Land Occupance and the Frontier in the History of America*. In connection with the first of these topics Arthur P. Whitaker, of the University of Pennsylvania, read a paper *Huancavelica and Historical Synthesis*, bearing on the history of the Peruvian mercury mines from colonial times. In relation to the second subject, *Land Occupancy*, Rafael Schiaffino, Chief of the Division of Sanitation of the Ministry of Public Health, Montevideo, spoke on the influence of the Guaraní Race on Uruguay. John L. Rich of the University of Cincinnati discussed the geographical formation of Southern Brazil and Paraguay with slides made from airplane photographs of the country.

The joint session with statistics, held the following day, under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Agriculture, Henry A. Wallace,

was devoted to consideration of *Population Problems in the Western Hemisphere*. The contribution of the Section on History and Geography, a paper on *Economic Resources and Population Shifts, with Special Reference to Brazil*, submitted by Roberto C. Simonsen, Director of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, São Paulo, was read by a substitute speaker.

Land Occupancy and the Frontier in the History of America was again the subject of discussion at the meeting of Wednesday, May 15, over which Daniel Samper Ortega presided. Paul Wallace Gates of Cornell had as his subject *Land Policy and the Development of the Tenancy in the Prairie States*, detailing the destruction of the Public Domain by absentee landownership in the middle of the last century. C. H. Haring read a protest from Afonso de E. Taunay, of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, in which he asserted that Jules Duhem of the École Normale de Montpellier in the 1938 edition of Thales had plagiarized his writings on Bartolomeu de Gusmão. This protest was admitted to the record of the proceedings of the Section.

Jorge Basadre of Peru presided at the joint session with Anthropology, *Social Changes in Indian America from Pre-Colonial Times to the Present*. The papers contributed by the Section on History and Geography were: *Pre-Colombian Agriculture as Conditioned by Periods of Alluviation in the Southwest*, by Kirk Bryan of Harvard, and Donald Brand of the University of New Mexico's *Pre-historic and Modern Economy of the Rio Balsas Area, Guerrero and Michoacán*.

The final meeting of the Section, Friday, May 17, C. H. Haring again presiding, was appropriately dedicated to *Basic Needs in Historical and Geographical Research in the Americas and Formulation of Projects for the Next Congress*. The principal address was made by Preston E. James, of the University of Michigan, vice-chairman of the Section. His topic, *Areas of Expanding Settlement in Latin America—A Project for Future Study*, embraced the regions of highland Costa Rica, the Antioquia and Caldas regions in Colombia, middle Chile, and southern Brazil. Solon J. Buck, Director of Publications at the National Archives, explained the services of his institution to historical and geographical research. The proposals sent by Emilio Ravignani and José Torre Revello of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the University of Buenos Aires were incorporated as Nos. 5 and 6 of the Section's resolutions. In conclusion Juan Lagomarsino of Montevideo spoke on the Uruguayan territorial waters of the Río de la Plata. Remarks were then made by Nelson de Senna of Brazil and José Coll-Cuchí of Puerto Rico.

The following were the resolutions passed by the Section on History and Geography:

RESOLUTIONS

Whereas:

In view of the desirability of coördinating historical investigation in the different countries of America in order to contribute toward the preparation of a history of the New World in a spirit of unity and coöperation:

1. It is recommended,

That American institutions of a historical character and especially National Academies of History give preferential attention to the necessity of directing their work in such a way as to make such unity possible, by striving to establish the relations between historical events in different regions and countries of America and by making the results of such efforts widely known.

2. It is recommended,

That in the future maps of America, both general and regional, and whatever may be the country of the publisher and his language, be prepared with names written in the language corresponding to the country represented thereon.

3. It is recommended,

a—That the Geographic Societies of America consider themselves corresponding members of one another.

b—That for the purposes of better mutual understanding, these Societies exchange yearly their reports in accordance with formulas to be adopted.

c—That the Pan American Institute of Geography and History be designated to receive and distribute these reports in accordance with formulas and on the dates which it may fix.

4. Recommended,

The study of the Guaraní language, folklore, and nomenclature as well as other Indian languages of the Americas.

5. It is recommended,

That the government members of the Pan American Union be requested to publish bibliographies relative to the documentary material that may be found in their national and provincial archives. These bibliographies might be brief at the beginning, and develop later into a methodical catalogation of the documents.

6. Recommended,

Publication of a list of documents relative to America, which are published in collections easily accessible to the students. This would avoid the reprints of documents already published, unless the new

editions are annotated by giving the paleographical version of the text and pointing out the errors and misinterpretations contained in previous editions. The Library of the Pan American Union could undertake the publications of the list with the assistance of institutions and persons of intellectual standing. A special fund might be established for the purpose of defraying the expenses of such an undertaking.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

The Hispanic Foundation,
Library of Congress.

THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION

On April 14th of this year the Pan American Union celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its organization. The event was commemorated throughout the length and breadth of this hemisphere with the publication of numerous studies on the Union, its historical evolution, significance, and future. From all that we have read three things stand out with particular clarity.

First: The Pan American Union as an institution, housed in the beautiful palace of which Washington is proud, is the permanent organ of the Union of the American Republics, a voluntary association formed by the independent states of the western hemisphere at their first conference of 1889-90, in Washington, for the declared purpose of collecting and distributing commercial information. The original name of this association was International Union of American Republics. Although its scope has been broadened by each successive conference, this union is still based on mere resolutions adopted by the conferences of the American states, there being no formal agreement of any other kind as yet ratified and binding together these nations or providing a charter or statutes for the association. To be sure, a convention on this matter was signed at the sixth conference held in Habana in 1928. But it is not yet in force since it has not been ratified by all the signatory parties. Pending the ratification of that instrument, which provides a detailed charter for the association, the union of the American Republics will continue to be guided by the terms of the resolution of the first conference as renewed and modified by each successive conference, particularly the fifth conference, held in Santiago, Chile, in 1923. (See, for official texts of resolutions on the Union, *International Conferences of American States, 1889-1928*, edited by James Brown Scott, New York, Oxford University Press, 1931, p. 36 and subsequent resolutions as indicated in footnotes.)

As embodied in the Habana convention, the purpose of the Union of the American Republics is to promote "efficaciously the increasing conciliation of their economic interests and coördination of their social and intellectual activities." The means are the periodic meetings of the International Conferences, the organs established by virtue of international agreements, and the Pan American Union at Washington.

That such an international association has existed for fifty years, based on mere resolutions of conferences held every five years or so, and that its permanent organ at Washington has become the center of Pan-American activities known all over the world, is eloquent proof of the soundness of the whole scheme. It is true, of course, that critics of the Union have pointed out at one time or another that its efficiency is considerably diminished by lack of timely action on the part of many of its member states on important resolutions and agreements. Various efforts have, in fact, been made—particularly at Buenos Aires in 1936, and at Lima, in 1938—to tighten the bonds now existing between the American nations and to transform the Union in some sort of League of Nations, patterned more or less after the Geneva institution, political attributes and all. These efforts have, however, been frustrated until now and in the opinion of this writer there is no prospect of a changed attitude.

Second: It is interesting to note that from an association devoted exclusively to the collection and distribution of commercial information the Union has rapidly become an instrument for the promotion of cultural relations and the coördination of social activities. The permanent organ of the Union was first called The Commercial Bureau of the American Republics; the second conference changed its name to International Bureau of the American Republics; and the fourth conference to Pan American Union as it is known today. The Columbus Library of the Union was created by a resolution adopted during the second conference. The third conference instructed its permanent organ to supply information on educational matters; the fifth conference specified as one of the functions of the Union "to assist in the development of commercial and cultural relations between the American Republics and of their more intimate mutual acquaintance," and provided for the creation of four permanent commissions—one on economic and commercial matters, another for the study of all matters relating to the international organization of labor in America, a third one for the study of questions relating to hygiene, and a fourth one for the development of intellectual coöperation, with special reference to coöperation between universities.

This increased interest on cultural matters culminated at Buenos Aires in 1936 with the signing of five conventions providing for the promotion of inter-American cultural relations, the interchange of publications, artistic exhibitions, the peaceful orientation of public education, and the granting of special facilities for educational and publicity films. The first of these agreements, undoubtedly the most important one of the five, provides for the organization of a system

of student and teacher exchanges whereby every American Republic will grant each year two fellowships to graduate students or teachers from each of the other signatory countries. The eventual results of such a notable scheme, once carried out in full, can scarcely be overestimated.

Third: Few people seem to be aware of the important change that is taking place in the Union at Washington from an institution primarily staffed with citizens of the United States into an organization where Latin Americans hold some of the most important executive positions. No longer may one criticize the Union, as sometimes in the past, for being an agency of penetration of Latin America entirely controlled by North Americans. The staff, including citizens from almost all the American countries, coöperates today on terms of equality, action being taken on the basis of open discussion of different points of view. For this change the present Director General of the Union, Dr. L. S. Rowe, is largely responsible.

R. D'EÇA.

The George Washington University.

THE THIRD CONVENTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

Members and friends of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association attended the meetings of its third convention held in Washington, D. C., with headquarters at the Willard Hotel on February 23 and 24, 1940. The program of papers and discussions was given in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Pan American Union.

The Director of that institution, Leo S. Rowe, expressed its welcome to and its appreciation of the Association at the first session held in the Hall of the Americas, Pan American Union. This first meeting was devoted to bibliography and to it Alfred Coester of Stanford University contributed his "Bibliographing Latin American Literatures." Another anniversary served as the subject of two papers. The distinguished bibliographer of the Instituto panamericano de geografía é história, Rafael Heliodoro Valle, presented "The Fourth Centenary of Printing in Mexico." The subject of printing was considered also by Irenaeus Herscher, of St. Bonaventure College, in a paper titled "The Three-Fold Centennial of Printing." After the conclusion of the reading of these essays, the chairman, James B. Childs, of the Library of Congress, turned the meeting over to Charles F. Gosnell, Queens College, New York City, for a period of informal and instructive discussion.

At the luncheon meeting over which John T. Vance, of the Library of Congress, presided, William J. Wilson considered that perennially fascinating subject, probabilities and improbabilities in the life of Columbus in his "The Thatcher Manuscript regarding Columbus and early Portuguese Navigation." The members of the Association had to forego the second address scheduled for the luncheon meeting, since Fernando Ortiz, President of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País, of Havana, Cuba, was unable to be present.

The session held on Friday afternoon, February 23, was devoted to the subject of archives, and at this meeting the Archivist of the United States, R. D. W. Connor, was chairman. From his experiences in using sources of history in Mexico, Vernon D. Tate of The National Archives gave a very instructive description of "Microphotography in the Mexican Archives." Luther H. Evans, now of the

Library of Congress, but formerly Director of the Historical Records Survey, presented a thought-provoking essay in his "Local Archives and the Study of History in the United States." Broader yet than history was the scope of "The Projected Archives of Hispanic Culture," which Robert C. Smith, of the Library of Congress, outlined to his listeners. The discussion was led by Philip C. Brooks of The National Archives.

At the dinner meeting two addresses were delivered, the first concerning a particular type of bibliographical literature and the second a particular library. Harold W. Jones, Librarian of the Army Medical Library, spoke on "Central and South American Medical Literature in the Army Medical Library" and Teresa Umlauff described "The Library of the University of San Marcos," in Lima, Peru, of which institution she is the Cataloguer.

After these addresses the first award of the José Toribio Medina Bibliographical Prize was made. This prize of one hundred dollars was the personal gift of James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Given to the best bibliography on some phase of Inter-American affairs, the prize resulted in the submission of twenty-nine separate bibliographies from eleven countries. The President of the Association, A. Curtis Wilgus, announced the result. To Enrique Arana, Director of the Biblioteca de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad de Buenos Aires was given the prize for his work "Bibliografía del Patronato Nacional." The winning bibliography is to be published in the *Proceedings* of the Association. Representatives of the University of Chile, Julio Saavedra Molina, and of Cornell University, Ernest R. Moore, won honorable mention.

On Saturday morning members and friends of the Association returned to the Pan American Union where Henry A. Severance, formerly of the University of Missouri, presided over a session devoted to the general subject of "libraries." "Fifty Years of the Columbus Memorial Library," a paper read by Charles E. Babcock of that library; fittingly commemorated its anniversary and described the contributions which that institution has made to Inter-American understanding. Alma C. Mitchill, President of the Special Library Association, spoke on the subject of "Private Libraries," and M. L. Raney, of the University of Chicago, presented the last paper, "The Scholar's Camera in the Americas." The meeting was concluded with a discussion led by Janeiro V. Brooks of the Columbus Memorial Library, of points suggested by the papers read.

The convention was brought to a close by a luncheon business

meeting. Reports were read by Raul d'Eça, Secretary-Treasurer of the Association and by Richard F. Behrendt of the University of Panama. Those attending were privileged to hear remarks from Samuel Guy Inman and from João Antonio de Bianchi, the Portuguese Minister in the United States. The former concerned himself with cultural relations with Latin America, while the latter made a statement on the double centenary which Portugal is celebrating this year.

A considerable number of papers was read at the business meeting by title only. Among these were bibliographies of the literature of Indian linguistic groups, of government publications, and several papers on libraries or collections. These will be printed in the *Proceedings*. The thanks of the Association were accorded to the Pan American Union, the Greater National Capitol Committee, and the American Institute of Graphic Arts. It voted an expression of appreciation of the life work of the late James A. Robertson, its past president, and of the gift of the Medina Bibliographical Award. It resolved to suggest and support proposals to publish the Thatcher manuscripts and lists of books and articles on economic and social subjects expressing the Inter-American point of view. Finally the Convention resolved to call the attention of the government of the United States to the suggestion that agreements be made with all the American countries for free postal transmission of publications for public libraries.

ALMON R. WRIGHT.

The National Archives.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

A DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL

It is the object of this article to give a summary of the chief sources for the history of Portugal, both in Europe and the Orient as a background for the needs of the student of Brazilian history. The whole period, comprising eight hundred years, obviously cannot be covered completely, but a sufficient number of works will be cited to give as comprehensive a view as possible in the limited space allotted. From the sources indicated the student will be enabled to go on to the special subjects to which his research work may lead him. This bibliography does not pretend to be exhaustive.

THE ARCHIVES

There are abundant records in Portugal from which her history may be reconstructed. Some are scattered in the smaller communities, but most of them, though in many cases of an early period, relate only to local land tenure or to matters of an ecclesiastical nature of little value today. A bibliography particularly devoted to local history is that of Pedro W. de Brito Aranha *Bibliographie des ouvrages Portugais pour servir à l'étude des villes . . .*, Lisbon, 1900. Aside from the main archives in Lisbon, important records are to be found in the Biblioteca Pública Municipal at Oporto, in the Biblioteca Pública at Evora and at the universities of Coimbra and Oporto. In Lisbon a few documents are kept at the Palace of Ajuda near Belem, at the Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, in the Arquivo Histórico Colonial, those under the Ministry of Finance, and at the Sociedade de Geographia. The records of the Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros are also important. From information obtained by Professor Prestage, "the correspondence existing there, addressed by the Portuguese embassies and legations abroad

to the home government, begins at the following dates: from Paris in 1668, the Hague in 1710, London in 1725, Vienna in 1735 and Madrid in 1746; while copies of the dispatches from the Court of Lisbon to Paris begin in 1668, to Madrid the same year, and to the Hague in 1693."¹ The next larger collection is at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa. This was founded in 1796 and now contains about sixteen thousand manuscripts, the valuable documents from the monastery of Alcobaça, and a large collection of printed material.

The most important depository for Portuguese archives is known as the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Here are to be found the oldest and most important records of the nation as well as the current governmental documents.² The section known as the *Côrpo das Gavetas* is one of the most easily accessible to serious investigators because all the documents have been transcribed in fifty-three volumes. Associated with this collection is another, containing similar

¹ *The diplomatic relations of Portugal with France, England, and Holland from 1640 to 1668*, Watford, 1925.

² Originally the national archives were preserved in a tower on a hill now known as the Castelo de São Jorge, today occupied by barracks of comparatively recent construction. This tower was named the *Tôrre do Tombo* evidently signifying that it was originally the depository of the great book wherein the records of the main land titles and lineage were preserved. There were subsequently added to these the *Chancelarias* or those documents requiring the seal of the Chancellor, and others of importance. The tower, possibly of two stories, was adjacent to the palace of the early kings which in the course of time was abandoned and the less important archives were transferred to some of its rooms. Here scribes copied records or searched for genealogies. The documents were kept either in *gavetas*, wooden drawers or boxes, or in *maços*, bundles. The archives were under the care of a *guarda mór*. The most important names associated with this office are the Visconde de Santarem and the chroniclers, Fernão Lopes, Gomes Eanes de Azurara, Rui de Pina, and Damião de Góis. Some documents are known to be missing, including portions of the *Chancelaria* and some of the early chronicles. This may have been due to carelessness, theft, or to withdrawal from the archives without return. This matter has been a subject of considerable discussion among historians.

On November 1, 1755, there occurred in Lisbon one of the greatest earthquakes in history. The tidal wave and numerous fires which followed destroyed half of the city. Fortunately there was no fire at the *Tôrre do Tombo* but the buildings were made a mass of ruins. The archives were first taken to temporary shelter and then to the convent of São Bento. They are now housed in the *Palacio das Cortes* or House of Parliament, which has recently been restored in magnificent style.

material, known as the *Colecção Cronológica* which consists of three parts with 525 bundles, containing 82,902 documents dating from 1161 to 1679. These two collections are the most frequently used as sources for Portuguese history. Another important collection is known as the *Chancelaria*. These documents are those which formerly were passed on by officers, usually ecclesiastics, holding the position of chancellor; now they are under the control of the secretary of state or the various ministers. These records are contained in 1,100 volumes. Other collections are known as the *Livraria*, the *Bullarium*, or political and diplomatic relations with the *Curia* at Rome, *Cartas Missivas*, etc. There are also the records of the Inquisition, of the Military Orders, of the India Office, and of many of the monasteries including those of Thomar and Belem. There are fewer records of the Jesuits than would be expected since many of these were either destroyed or removed to Rome or Holland when that order was expelled by Pombal. Among the treasures of the Arquivo is a collection of beautifully written and illuminated volumes made during the reign of D. Manuel describing different sections of Portugal and copies of fifteen of the chronicles by Ruy de Pina, Fernão Lopes, and Eanes de Azurara. The best description of these archives is given by Pedro A. d'Azevedo and Antonio Baião in *O Arquivo da Torre do Tombo, Sua historia, corpos que o compõem e organização*, Lisbon, 1905. A general survey of the resources both archival and printed for Portuguese history is to be found in the work of R. Foulché-Delbosc and L. Barrau-Dihigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant*, Vol. I, New York, 1920. This is devoted on the one hand to biographical and bio-bibliographical works, wherever published, regarding the three sections of the Iberian peninsula, Castillian, Catalan, and Portuguese, and on the other hand to inventories and catalogues of archives, libraries, and other collections both public and private. Vol. II, New York, 1925, contains the contents of the principal printed collections concerning the same sections. The Portuguese portion on the whole is adequate. These volumes are indispensable for the research student of Portuguese history.

Articles relating to the Portuguese archives are also published in *Anais das bibliotecas e arquivos*, Lisboa, 1920-1937.

Reference to archival material in England is given in F. F. de la Figanière, *Catalogo dos manuscriptos portuguezes existentes no Museu Britannico . . .*, Lisbon, 1853, and in the British Public Record Office, State Papers (Portugal). A collection of early documents including the priceless *Chronica de Guiné* of Azurara, is preserved in Paris and described by Alfred Morel-Fatio in *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais*, Paris, 1881-1892, 2 vols. Diplomatic and similar documents may be found in the French archives, particularly those relating to the later portions of Portuguese history. In Italy there are documents of value concerning the Portuguese relations with Venice and Florence, especially during the sixteenth century, and in Rome much material is preserved not only in the Vatican but also in the records of the Dominican and Jesuit orders. For Portuguese sources in Italy consult also António de Portugal de Faria, *Portugal e Italia*, Leorne, 1898, 2 vols. In America there are documents including letters of John III at Harvard. Archival material is also to be found at the Library of Congress, at the Lima Library of the Catholic University, and, naturally, much of great importance in the libraries of Brazil.

COLLECTIONS OF PUBLISHED SOURCES

The chief collections of sources which have been published are: two collections, published by the Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Pôrto, *Corpus codicum latinorum et portugalesium*, Oporto, 1899, vol. I, *Diplomata, chartae et inquisitiones* and *Collecção de manuscriptos ineditos*, Oporto, 1910-11, 3 vols.; and the following documents from the Arquivo da Tôrre do Tombo at Lisbon, *Portugaliae monumenta historica*, ed. by A. Herculano and J. J. da Silva Mendes Leal, Lisbon, 1856-97, 12 pts., *Leges et Consuetudines, Scriptores, Diplomata et Chartae, Inquisitiones*, documents dating from the eighth to towards the end of the thirteenth century, among which are Visigothic and later laws, a book of Lineage and other sources of fundamental importance; *Alguns documentos do Archivo*

Nacional da Torre do Tombo ácerca das navegações e conquistas Portuguezas, ed. by José Ramos-Coelho, Lisbon, 1892, with documents which date from 1416 to 1554 which are of the highest importance for the discovery period; *Documentos das Chancelarias reaes anteriores a 1531 relativos a Marrocos*, Lisbon, 1915, containing 522 unpublished documents between 1402 and 1450; and Visconde de Santarem's *Quadro Elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo, desde o principio da Monarchia portugueza até aos nossos dias*, Lisbon and Paris, 1842-76, 18 vols., a work of great importance. The first eight volumes are by Santarém; those which follow, based largely on his notes, are by Luiz Augusto da Silva. The documents are arranged chronologically and in most cases are described or calendered only, but some are printed in full. It is valuable chiefly for the location of sources. Other collections are *Corpo diplomatico portuguez, contendo todos os tratados de paz, de alliança . . .*, Paris, 1846, Vol. I (all pub.), *Portugal e Hispanha*, Jan. 1168-May 1383; *Corpo diplomatico portuguez contendo os actos e relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo desde o seculo XVI até os nossos dias*, edited by Luiz Augusto Rebello da Silva (to Vol. 5), José da Silva Mendes Leal (to Vol. 10) and Jayme C. de Freitas Moniz (to end), Lisbon, 1862-1936, 15 vols., which concern only the relations of Portugal with Rome from 1501 to 1678; and *Collecção de Monumentos ineditos para a historia das conquistas dos Portuguezes em Africa, Asia e America* (Acad. das Sci. de L.), Lisbon, 1858-1915, 16 vols., important for the history of the Portuguese in India. The last collection contains the letters of Albuquerque, the *Lendas da India* of Corrêa, *Documentos remettidos da India*, a volume of *Subsídios*, and *Década 13* by Bocarro. Volumes containing many documents of national importance were edited by Antonio Caetano de Sousa in *Historia Genealogica da casa real portugueza desde a sua origem até o presente*, Lisbon, 1735-48, 13 vols. with 6 additional vols. of *provas*, 1739-48 and 1 vol., index, 1749. Sousa was one of the founders of the Academia Real de Historia. The *Collecção dos tratados, contratos, e actos publicos celebrados entre a corôa de Por-*

tugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente in 45 vols. is another collection of importance. The first 8 vols. by J. F. Borges de Castro appearing at Lisbon in 1856-58 were continued by J. F. Judice Biker in 22 vols. at Lisbon, 1872-89, and by a *Nova Collecção* in 15 vols., Lisbon and Coimbra, 1890-1921. José Corrêa da Serra's *Collecção de livros ineditos da historia portugueza, dos reinados de D. João I, D. Duarte, D. Affonso V, e D. João II*, Lisbon, 1790-1824, 5 vols., is important for the early chronicles it contains. Many documents concerning the relations of Spain with Portugal, particularly during the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, have been published in *Col. de doc. ined. para la história de España*, Madrid, 1842-95, 112 vols. Individual or small collections of documents, chiefly from the Tôrre do Tombo, have been published in periodicals and in works on particular periods. At present many important sources appear in the *Archivo Historico Portuguez*, Lisbon, 1903 ff., a monthly journal devoted not only to history but also to literature and geography.

THE CHRONICLES

A series of royal chronicles exists for each reign from the beginning of the monarchy to the end of the House of Aviz. While most of these were written in subsequent periods, they nevertheless contain much information from documents now lost; thus they must be considered by historians as sources secondary only to the records themselves. These are: Duarte Galvão, *Chronica de D. Affonso Henriques*; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de D. Sancho I, D. Affonso II, D. Sancho II, D. Affonso III, D. Diniz, D. Affonso IV, D. Duarte, D. Affonso V, and D. João II*; Fernão Lopes, *D. Pedro I, D. Fernando, and D. João I*; Gomes Eanes de Azurara, *D. João I*; Garcia de Resende, *D. João II*; Damião de Góis, *Principe D. João (João II)*, and *D. Manuel*; Jeronymo Osorio, *D. Manuel*; Francisco de Andrade, *D. João III*; Fr. Luiz de Sousa, *D. João III*; and Fr. Bernardo da Cruz, *D. Sebastião*. Professor Edgar Prestage has given excellent outlines of the lives of these chroniclers and evaluations of their works, in his articles in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. There is also a volume, *Fernam Lopez*, by A. F. C. Bell, Hisp. Soc., Oxford,

1921. Reference may also be made to Mendes dos Remédios, *Historia da Literatura Portuguesa*, 3d ed., Coimbra, 1908. In addition to the royal chronicles, the following should be mentioned: Azurara, *Chronica de Guiné*, and two relating to Morocco cited later, Gaspar Dias de Landim, *O Infante D. Pedro*, Lisbon, 1894, 3 vols., and *O Condestabre de Portugal, D. Nuno Alvarez Pereira*, by an anonymous author, Coimbra, 1911.

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The principal bibliographies are those by Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, Lisbon, 1741-59, 4 vols., and by Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez, Estudos applicaveis a Portugal e ao Brasil*, after Vol. X continued and amplified by Brito Aranha, Lisboa, 1858-1923, 22 vols. José Carlos Pinto de Sousa, in his *Bibliotheca historica de Portugal e seus dominios ultramarinos*, Lisbon, 1801, gives an excellent selection of the earlier historians. Ricardo Pinto de Mattos, *Manual bibliographico Portuguez*, Oporto, 1878, and Domingo Garcia Peres, *Catalogo razonado, biográfico y bibliográfico de los autores Portugueses que escribieron en Castellano*, Madrid, 1890, Jorge Cesar de Figanière, *Bibliographia historica portugueza*, Lisbon, 1850, are also valuable. Aubrey F. G. Bell's *Portuguese Bibliography*, *Hisp. Soc.*, Oxford, 1922, is important for literature as well as history. Raúl Proença and António Anselmo compiled the *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI*, published in *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos*, Lisbon, 1921-1925, and António Anselmo published in this same periodical, 1920-1922, *A bibliografia portuguesa*. The excellent library of Manuel II, King of Portugal, is fully described with reproductions of titles pages, in *Livros antigos Portuguezes, 1489-1600, da Bibliotheca de Sua Magestade Fidelissima*, London, 1935, 3 vols. For further bibliographies, as well as for information regarding the contents of collections of printed sources, the volumes of R. Foulché-Delbosc and L. Barrau-Diigo, *Manuel de l'hispanisant* should be consulted. To this collection there should be added the scholarly publication of early historical classics appearing at the University of Coimbra entitled *Scriptores Rerum Lusitanarum*.

GENERAL HISTORIES

The first general history in recent times was written by Heinrich Schäfer, as *Geschichte von Portugal*, Hamburg, 1836-54, 5 vols., of the first two volumes of which there is a French translation by H. S. Bodin, Paris, 1840. Schäfer made use of the chronicles and of the third and fourth parts of the *Monarchia Lusitania* by Antonio Brandão (the other parts by different authors being of less value). This work has been largely superseded. The *Historia de Portugal, Popular Illustrada* by Pinheiro Chagas and others, Lisbon, 1899-1907, 12 vols., of interest particularly for the later periods and well illustrated, does not on the whole appeal to the serious historian. The *Historia de Portugal* by Alexandre Herculano, the eminent Portuguese historian who belonged to the school of von Ranke, first appeared in Lisbon in 1846-53 in 4 vols. and has been republished many times since. It is of great importance but unfortunately extends only to the end of the reign of Affonso III. There is also a *History of Portugal* by E. MacMurdo, London, 1888-89, 2 vols., which has merit but is not sufficiently comprehensive. The *História de Portugal* by Fortunato de Almeida, Coimbra, 1922-29, 6 vols., is an excellent work covering the whole period. The best general history is that which appeared in 7 large vols. at Barcellos in 1928-35, edited by Damião Peres with the title *Historia de Portugal, edição monumental comemorativo de 8º Centenario de fundação da nacionalidade*. It has numerous illustrations, many of which are in color; unfortunately there are few notes and no index or bibliographies. The work consists of a series of sections written by various scholars and covering periods from pre-historic times to the present. There should also be mentioned the *História da Expansão Portuguesa no mundo* of a more popular nature, now appearing serially at Lisbon.

Among the shorter histories, that of J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Historia de Portugal*, is well known and of this there are many editions. It extends to 1834 and consists of a series of brilliant essays which presume some knowledge of the national history. The volume *Portugal*, written by Henry Morse

Stephens, New York, 1908, for the Story of the Nations series is still the best work in English. Considering the size it is remarkably comprehensive, readable and, in the main, accurate. Professor Stephens became interested in the history of Portugal while teaching Indian history at Cambridge. When his field broadened to include modern European history, he still retained a preference for that of Portugal and his affection for it is shown in this volume. Many small histories have been published in Portugal, particularly for secondary instruction; among them may be mentioned *Esboço de História de Portugal* by Fortunato de Almeida, Coimbra, 1920, R. R. L. Valladas *Sumário da História de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1917, and A. Pimenta, *Elementos de História de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1934, in the preface of which the author states, with reason, that he is uncertain whether it is best adapted for the student or the professor.

SPECIAL PERIODS

During the first years of the national history chief concern was centered on the glorification of heroes in deeds of chivalry. These have been preserved in the *Cancioneiros* of which several exist. In the introduction to the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* written by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos and in that of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* by Theophilo Braga there is material of historical interest.

The sources for the period of the rule of the House of Aviz will first be discussed from the European point of view before referring to the more specialized subjects of the Discovery Period, the Portuguese in Morocco, and their expansion in the East. The important Chronicles have been mentioned. To these may be added the works of J. P. de Oliveira Martins, *A vida de Nun' Alvares, Historia do estabelecimento da dynastia de Aviz*, Lisbon, 1893, *Os Filhos de D. João I*, 4th ed., 1922, tr. as *The Golden Age of Prince Henry the Navigator* by J. J. Abraham and W. E. Reynolds, London, 1914 (this lacks the one hundred pages of documents in the appendix and is condensed from the original), and *O Principe Perfeito* (João II), Lisbon, 1915, which though incomplete has a good introduction by H. de Barros Gomes. Other works

are those of Damião Peres, *D. João I*, Lisbon, 1917, Conde de Sabagosa, *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525)*, F. A. Costa Cabral, *D. João II e a Renascença Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1914, and M. B. Branco, *El Rei D. Manuel*, Lisbon, 1888. The most important sources for the reigns of D. Manuel and D. João III are the chronicles of Damião de Góis, *Chronica do serenissimo Senhor rei D. Manuel*, ed. of Coimbra, 1926; of D. Jerónimo Osório, *De Rebus Emmanuelis gestis*, 1st ed. 1586, translated into Portuguese by F. M. do Nascimento as *Da vida e feitos del Rey D. Manuel*, 1804, and into English by G. J. Gibbs as *The History of the Portuguese during the Reign of Emmanuel*, London, 1752; of Fr. de F. de Andrade, *Chronica do muito alto e muito poderoso rei d'estes reinos de Portugal D. João III*, 2d and best ed., Coimbra, 1796; and of Fr. Luiz de Sousa, *Annaes de El-Rei Dom João Terceiro*, Lisbon, 1844, edited by the historian, A. Herculano. All of these chronicles contain much relating to the history of the Portuguese in the East and in Morocco which was then of great importance. The *Letters of John III* edited by J. D. M. Ford and L. G. Moffat, Cambridge, 1931-33, 2 vols., are of value. The continuation of these reigns is related by D. Barbosa Machado, the bibliographer, in *Memorias para a historia de Portugal que comprehendem o governo d'el-rei D. Sebastião desde 1554 a 1561* in 4 vols. and by A. de Faria in his *D. Antonio I, Prior do Crato . . . e seus Descendentes*, with bibliography, Leorne, 1910. Besides the *Chronica* of Fr. Bernardo da Cruz, the following may be consulted for the reign of D. Sebastian and its unfortunate termination in Morocco: Jeronymo de Mendoça, *Jornada de Africa*, 2d ed., Lisbon, 1904, the author of which was with the expedition of 1578; J. M. Velloso de Queiroz, *Dom Sebastião*, Lisbon, 1935; Fr. Manuel dos Santos, *Historia Sebastica*, Lisbon, 1735, written as a continuation of the *Monarchia Lusitana*; and M. de Menezes, *Chronica de El-Rei D. Sebastião. Les Faux Don Sébastien* by Miguel M. d'Antas, Paris, 1866, gives an interesting account of the pretenders to the Portuguese throne after the disappearance of D. Sebastian in Morocco. The assumed reappearance of this king or of his descendants is the subject of the volumes of A. Costa Lobo, *Origens do Sebastianismo*,

Lisbon, 1909, and of J. Lucio d'Azevedo, *A evolução do Sebastianismo*, Oporto, 1918.

RELATIONS WITH MOROCCO

The history of the Portuguese religious crusades into Morocco and their commercial relations with that country has never been written as a connected episode. The sources consist of the histories of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and of the chronicles referred to earlier in this article with the addition of two by Eanes de Azurara, one about D. Duarte de Menezes, the other about Dom Pedro de Menezes (*Collecção dos livros ineditos*). The special publications of the *Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, published in commemoration of the fifth centenary of the capture of Ceuta in 1415, are also important. In addition to the documents already mentioned from the *Chancelaria* there should be noted: Pisano, *Livro da Guerra de Ceuta, escrito em 1460*, Lisbon, 1915, a translation from the Latin text (in *Collecção de livros ineditos*), though originally written in Portuguese; J. J. de Mascarenhas, *Historia de Ceuta*, written in Spanish in 1648, Lisbon, 1918; Bernardo Rodrigues, *Anais de Arzila*, an unpublished chronicle of the sixteenth century, vol. I (1525-1535), with supplement (1536-1550), Lisbon, 1919; documents from the *Côrpo cronológico* (1488-1514), and the account of Antoine de la Salle, a Frenchman who was present at the taking of Ceuta. Another volume of interest is *Chronica do Infante Santo D. Fernando* by Fr. João Álvarez, Coimbra, 1911. The *Documentos Arabicos para a Historia Portugueza*, edited by Fr. João de Sousa, Lisbon, 1790, with Portuguese translation are of value. These belong to the early sixteenth century and include some material relating to Ormuz as well as Morocco. The *Documentos para a historia do dominio Português em Safim*, Lisbon, 1897, consists of texts with translations from Aljamía Portuguese (a mixture of Portuguese with Arabic). The *Africa Portuguesa*, by M. de Faria y Sousa, Lisbon, 1681, which was published in Spanish after the author's death, is not complete and since the material used by Faria y Sousa was taken chiefly from the chronicles, these are of greater value.

MARITIME DISCOVERIES

The Portuguese discoveries in the Atlantic during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries extended in two directions, southward along the African coast and westward over the Atlantic. The African explorations began soon after the Portuguese expeditions to Morocco in 1415. The chief sources are the documents published in *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* previously mentioned; the *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, written by the chronicler Gomes Eanes de Azurara "under the direction of Prince Henry the Navigator," first published by the Visconde de Santarem, Paris, 1841, and translated and edited by C. R. Beazley and E. Prestage as *The chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea* (Hakluyt Soc., 1st ser., Vols. 95 and 100); the early books of the first Decade of the *Asia* of João de Barros, a new edition of which was recently published at Coimbra, 1932, give information not found elsewhere; and the voyage of Alvise da Cadamosto published in *Paesi nuovamente ritrovati*, Vicenza, 1507, which has been translated and edited by G. A. Crone as *The voyages of Cadamosto* (Hakluyt Soc., 2d ser., Vol. 80). The most important secondary sources are as follows: Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers*, London, 1933, the best comprehensive account of the Portuguese voyages; Alvaro J. da Costa Pimpão, *A cronica de Guiné*, Coimbra, 1926; Manoel F. de Barros Visconde de Santarém, *Recherches sur la priorité de la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale d'Afrique . . .*, Paris, 1842; R. H. Major, *Life of Prince Henry the Navigator*, London, 1868; C. R. Beazley, *Prince Henry the Navigator*, in the History of the Nations series, London, 1895, as well as the articles by the same author on Prince Henry in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1912; Jules Mees, *Henri le Navigateur et l'Académie Portugaise de Sagres*, Brussels, 1901; Charles de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge, cartographes et explorateurs*, Cairo, 1924-27, 3 vols.; Rinaldo Caddeo, *Le navigazioni Atlantiche di Alvise da Cà da Mosto*, Milan, 1928, regarding the discoveries and explorations of the Italians in the Atlantic from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries; A. Braamcamp

Freire, *Expedições e Armadas nos annos 1488 e 1489*, Lisbon, 1915; a collection of documents in Luciano Cordeiro, *Memo-rias, viagens, explorações e conquistas dos Portuguezes*, Lisbon, 1881; Joaquim Bensaude, *Origine du plan des Indes*, Coimbra, 1929 and *Lacunes et surprises de l'histoire des documents maritimes*, Coimbra, 1930; Jaime Cortesão, *Descobrimientos e conquistas* in Peres, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 3; and C. J. de Senna Barcellos, *Subsidios para a historia de Cabo Verde e Guiné*, Lisbon, 1899-1915, 7 vols. For the western voyages, in addition to the above, the two volumes of Ayres de Sá, *Frei Gonçalo Velho*, Lisbon, 1899-1900; Jules Mees, *Histoire de la découverte des îles Açores . . .*, Gand, 1901; Antonio Cordeiro, *Historia Insulana das ilhas a Portugal sugeytas no Oceano occidental*, Lisbon, 1717; and M. M. Velho Arruda, *Collecção de documentos relativos ao descobrimento e povoamento das Açores*, Ponta Delgada, 1932, are important. Other voyages to the west extending to America belong rather to the history of geography than to the history of Portugal. Here also belong the cartographical history of the discovery period and books on navigation and naval construction which are beyond the scope of this article. The voyages of discovery to the East of Fernão Mendes Pinto, of Ludovico Varthema and others are not of historical value and have been omitted. Likewise it has been impossible to cover the development of geographical knowledge of the regions around the Indian Ocean, in the East Indies, and along the shores of the Pacific.

THE PORTUGUESE IN THE ORIENT³

When Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498 the history of Portugal took on a new aspect; during the succeeding century the events which occurred there were of prime importance to the mother country. The chroniclers of the reigns

³ The commercial benefits of the Portuguese domination in the East reached their maximum value during the reign of D. Manuel. During that of João III they declined until the eastern factories became rather liabilities than assets because of an oversupply of commodities, the expenses of the factories and settlements, costly local encounters with the natives, and dishonesty among the officials. This may have been one of the reasons for the interest taken by that monarch in the development of the colonies in Brazil.

of D. Manuel and of D. João III devoted much space to Indian affairs but there are other historians who confined their efforts exclusively to the East. The chief sources are documents in the old Tôrre do Tombo which escaped destruction during the earthquake of 1755. Unfortunately those in the Casa da Índia were destroyed. Some still remain in India and have been published in part in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, Nova Goa, 1857-77, 9 vols., of which a new edition has recently appeared. Collections of published documents, chiefly from the Tôrre do Tombo include J. F. Judice Biker, *Collecção dos tratados, e concertos de pazes que o estado da India portugueza fez . . .*, Lisbon, 1881-, 14 vols.; the *Cartas* of Afonso de Albuquerque, Lisbon, 1884-1915, 6 vols.; *Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa*, edited by R. J. de Lima Felner, consisting of three accounts, viz., the weights and measures used in India, written by Antonio Nunes in 1554, the expenses in India during the year 1554, and an anonymous inventory of state property in India in 1525; Antonio Bocarro, *Decada 13 da historia da India*, Lisbon, 1876, 2 vols., with documents only during the vice-royalty of D. Jeronymo de Azevedo (1612-1617); and *Documentos remetidos da India, ou Livros das Monções*, Lisbon, 1880-93, 4 vols., containing documents from 1605-1618. A *Report to the Secretary of State for India in council on the Portuguese records relating to the East Indies contained in the Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* was made by F. C. Danvers, London, 1892. There is no adequate bibliography of the history of the Portuguese in the East. The first attempt seems to have been made by A. C. Burnell, a judge in southern India, who became interested in the Portuguese period while writing, in association with Henry Yule, a volume entitled *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*. During his visits to England and Italy Burnell collected material for a bibliography which he published as *A tentative List of Books and some manuscripts relating to the history of the Portuguese in India Proper*, London, 1880. Much has been printed since Burnell's day and since many of the books listed are now of less value, the scarcity of this work is not serious.

No good history of the Portuguese in the East has been written in modern times though there is abundant material available. The small volumes published in Portugal are not sufficient and one is compelled to return to the larger and earlier works. The only history in English which covers the period is that of F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, London, 1894, 2 vols. It would be better, however, for the student to consult two volumes with chapters devoted to special subjects, one written by K. G. Jayne, *Vasco da Gama and his successors (1460-1580)*, London, 1910, and the other by R. S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*, London, 1899. The lack of modern works is compensated for by the high quality and thoroughness of those published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of these the first that should be mentioned is that of João de Barros, *Da Asia de João de Barros, dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*. There are several editions of this work. The one usually referred to is that published in Lisbon with the continuation by Diogo do Couto, Lisbon, 1778-1788, in twenty-four volumes. Of these, eight volumes are by de Barros, fourteen by do Couto, and two additional volumes are devoted to the lives of the authors by Manuel Severim de Faria and to indexes. There is an Italian translation of de Barros, Venice, 1561-63, 2 vols., and one in German, Brunswick, 1821, 5 vols. Only four Decades were written, the last of which extends to 1526. The works of de Barros have earned for him a place in literature where he is given the title of the Portuguese Livy. His successor, Diogo do Couto, whose style is simpler, duplicated the fourth Decade of de Barros and continued the history to the end of the century in his *Da Asia de Diogo do Couto. Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista e descobrimento das terras e mares da Oriente*, Lisbon, 1778-1788. Do Couto, who lived in India during much of his life, also wrote two small volumes, *Observações sobre as principaes causas da decadencia dos Portuguezes na Asia*, Lisbon, 1790 and *Vida de Paulo de Lima Pereira*, Lisbon, 1903. There is an excellent life of do Couto by A. F. G. Bell, *Hisp. Soc.*, Oxford, 1924.

Another history of value is that by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, entitled *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Lisbon, 1833, 8 vols. Castanheda was the first to write a history of the Portuguese in India. He went to Goa in 1528 and began immediately to accumulate notes for his work. On his return to Portugal, in poverty, he accepted a menial position at the University of Coimbra and continued his researches in Portugal seeking always the most reliable sources. His history, like that of de Barros, can be relied on and is of particular value for the early voyages. The *Lendas da India* of Gaspar Corrêa was not published until 1858-66 when it appeared in four volumes, the first three of two parts each, in all, 3,400 pp. with illustrations. Corrêa lived many years in India and wrote in detail concerning the years between 1497 and 1550. As one of the secretaries of Afonso de Albuquerque he was associated with much which occurred during his conquests, and during the remainder of his life in India wrote of whatever seemed to him to be of interest there. His work is not always accurate for the period before his arrival in 1512, but he is trustworthy for what came under his observation later. A portion of the *Lendas* entitled *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama* was published by the Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., vol. 42. The life of Corrêa and an evaluation of his work has been written by A. F. G. Bell, *Hisp. Soc.*, Oxford, 1924. Another history is that of Manuel de Faria y Sousa entitled *Asia Portuguesa*, published at Lisbon in 1666, 1674, and 1675 in three volumes with a translation by J. Stevens as *The Portuguese Asia*, London, 1694-95, 3 vols. This author was a compiler rather than a historian and wrote in Spanish though he was born and died in Portugal. Because of the language in which he wrote, his works became better known outside of Portugal than the histories which preceded. The Jesuit, Pietro Maffei, is the author of *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, Florence, 1588. The Italian translation by F. Serdonati, Florence, 1589, also contains letters collected by Maffei which were written from India in 1549-1573. Maffei adds little to the Portuguese historians.

The voyage of Vasco da Gama belongs properly to the history of the Portuguese in India and is given by E. Ravenstein in *The Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1898, vol. 99. In addition to the so-called "Roteiro" there is some collateral material. Other works are A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Vasco da Gama e a Vidigueira*, Lisbon, 1898. This is rather a life of da Gama and of his descendants than an account of his voyage but contains documents of importance. The works of Franz Hümmerich which shed much light on the voyage are: *Studien zum "Roteiro" der Entdeckungsfahrt Vascos da Gama, 1497-1499* in *Rev. da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. x, 1927, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur ersten Indienfahrt des Vasco da Gama*, Munich, 1897, and *Vasco da Gama und die Entdeckung des Seewegs nach Ostindien*, Munich, 1898. The voyage of Vasco da Gama was succeeded by that of Pedro Álvares Cabral who went to India to establish commercial relations and to place a factory at Calicut. This voyage is well described by de Barros and Castanheda who had access to information not now available. Some of the earliest accounts are those to be found in Italy and are included by W. B. Greenlee in *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, Hakluyt Society, 1938, Vol. 81. Other accounts of early voyages to India are given in G. B. Ramusio, *Delle navigazioni et viaggi*, Venice, 1606, Vol. 1. The commercial results in the spice trade are to be found in the *Relazione* of Cha Masser, published in *Centenario do Descobrimento de America*, Lisbon, 1892, and in two articles by F. C. Lane in the *Am. Hist. Rev.*, Jan. 1933, and April, 1940. The *Cartas* of Afonso de Albuquerque have been referred to. The *Commentarios*, written by his natural son, were published at Lisbon, 1774, in four volumes and should also be mentioned. These were well translated and edited by Walter de Gray Birch as *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbuquerque, Second Vice-roy of India*, Hakluyt Soc., ser. I, Vols. 53, 55, 62, 69. Other volumes regarding Albuquerque are those by Antonio Baião, *Alguns Ascendentes de Albuquerque e o seu filho, a luz de documentos ineditos*,

Lisbon, 1915, and *Affonso d'Albuquerque*, Lisbon, 1913; E. Prestage, *Affonso de Albuquerque Governor of India*, Walford, 1929; and H. Morse Stephens, *Albuquerque*, in *Rulers of India* series. Following the conquests of Albuquerque the history of the Portuguese in the East was one of development. Certain episodes stand out particularly which have been the subjects of the volumes which follow. Damião de Góis wrote several small works which were published in the sixteenth century, chiefly in Louvain, a list of which is given in the article on this author by Professor Prestage in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. The *Vida de D. João de Castro* by J. F. Andrade, though written in artificial language, has some value but does not deserve the large number of editions and translations which have appeared. M. de Sousa Pinto, *Dom João de Castro*, Lisbon, 1912, should be consulted. João de Castro wrote three *roteiros* for pilots, viz., *Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa*, Lisbon, 1882, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa de India desde Goa até Diu*, Oporto, 1843, and *Roteiro em que se continua a viagem que fizeram os Portugueses no anno de 1541*, Paris, 1833. All of these *roteiros* have accompanying sketches. The *Historia do Cerco de Diu* by L. de Sousa Coutinho (1st ed., 1556), Lisbon, 1890, and the *Historia quinhentista do segundo cerco de Diu* by Leonardo Nunes, edited by Antonio Baião, Lisbon, 1927, may be of interest. Four epics were written in praise of the exploits of the Portuguese heroes in India. The *Lusiadas* of Camões make it their major theme. There are three others of less importance which should be mentioned, those by Francisco d'Andrade, *O Primeiro Cerco de Diu*, 2d ed., Lisbon, 1852; by F. de Sá de Menezes, *Malaca, conquistada pelo grande Affonso de Albuquerque*, 1st ed., 1634, 3d ed., Lisbon, 1779; and Jeronymo Corte-Real, *Segundo Cêrco de Diu*, a poem of twenty-one cantos, 1st ed., Lisbon, 1574, and another in 1783. A manuscript of Manuel Godinho de Eredia was published in Brussels in 1882 as *Malacca, l'Inde Meridionale et le Cathay*, edited and translated by Léon Janssen. Eredia was also an explorer who may have reached Australia in 1601. *Letters from Portuguese captains in Canton, written in 1534-1536* was published in Bombay in 1902, edited by Donald Ferguson. A series of publications by the Soc. de

Geog. de Lisboa commemorating the centenary of the discovery of India includes those of Luciano Cordeiro, *Batalhas da India, Como se perdeu Ormuz*, Lisbon, 1896; David Lopes, *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, Lisbon, 1897, and *Historia dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadim*, Lisbon, 1898; and Luciano Cordeiro, *Dois Capitães da India*, Lisbon, 1898, which contains letters written in 1629 (the first captain is D. Gonçalves de Silveira, the second Diogo do Couto). A manuscript by Barreto de Resende, *Livro do estado da India Oriental*, Brit. Mus., Sloane Ms. 197, of which there are also copies in the Bib. Nat., Paris, is interesting for the illustrations. One without illustrations is in the Lima Library of Catholic University. A volume of collateral interest is that of J. Nicolau da Fonseca, *An historical and archaeological sketch of the city of Goa*, Bombay, 1878. Articles on the Portuguese in the East have been published in historical journals, particularly in those of the Royal Asiatic Society in its different branches. One of these has been reprinted as a separate volume entitled *A history of Malaya* by R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1935, and contains a résumé of the history of Malacca during the Portuguese period.

CEYLON

In addition to the accounts given in histories previously mentioned, the chief sources for the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon are in the works of P. E. Pieris which are as follows: *Ribeiro's History of Ceilão with a summary of de Barros, de Couto, Antonio Bocarro and the documentos remittidos, with the Parangi Hatani and Kodantinu Hatati*, translated from the original Portuguese and Sinhalese, Colombo, 1909; *Ceylon; the Portuguese era, being a history of the Island for the period 1505-1658*, Colombo, 1913, which covers the period of the struggles with the Dutch; *Ceylon and the Portuguese, 1505-1658*, Tellispalai, Ceylon, 1920; and Pieris with M. A. H. Fitzler, *Ceylon and Portugal, part I, Kings and Christians, 1539-1552*, Leipzig, 1927, from the original documents at Lisbon, which also contains information regarding the Portuguese in India proper. Pieris also edited with an introduction, *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceilão*, by P. Fernão de Queyroz, Jaffa, Ceylon, 1915. To

these should be added Sousa Viterbo, *O thesouro do Rei de Ceylão*, Lisbon, 1904, an inventory of the money, gold, and jewels which were given in Ceylon to Symão Botelho, Vedor da Fazenda, when the Viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha went there in 1551.

ETHIOPIA

The visit of Pedro da Covilham to India and Abyssinia in 1488-91 is told in the excellent volume by Conde de Ficalho, *Viagen de Pedro da Covilhan*, Lisboa, 1898. Nearly all that is known of this voyage is given by P. Francisco Álvares in his *Verdadera informaçam das terras do Preste Joam . . .*, 1st ed., 1540, translated and edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley as *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the years 1520-1527*, Hakluyt Soc., Vol. 64. One of the volumes of interest relating to the Portuguese in Ethiopia is that of Henry Thomas and Armando Cortesão, eds., *The Discovery of Abyssinia by the Portuguese in 1520. Conta das novas que vieram a El-Rei nosso Senhor do descobrimento de Preste Joham. Lisboa, 1521*, London, British Museum, 1938. The expedition of Miguel Castanhoso, first printed in 1564, was republished in 1855. Another edition with notes by F. M. Esteves Pereira appeared in Lisbon, 1898. There is a translation by R. S. Whiteway entitled, *The Portuguese expedition to Abyssinia in 1541*, Hakluyt Soc., 1902, ser. 2, no. 10. Another work of value is that of João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* (1st ed., 1609), Lisbon, 1891, 2 vols. The author, a Dominican, lived in Ethiopia and visited other sections of India and Africa. The *Historia da Ethiopia a alta* of Manuel de Almeida is divided into ten books, the original autograph manuscript of which is in the British Museum. Parts of it may have been used by Balthazar Telles for his *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisbon, 1645-47; he also wrote *Historia geral de Ethiopia a alta* (Coimbra, 1660), Rome, 1905-06, 2 vols. The most important collection thus far published pertaining to Ethiopia is that edited by G. Camillo Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Orientales inedita a saecula XVI ad XIX*, Rome, 1903-17, 15 vols. A good book in English is C. F. Rey, *The Romance of the Portuguese in Abyssinia*, London, 1929.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY IN THE ORIENT

The religious history of the Portuguese in the East is important. The Jesuit relations which begin with the coming of St. Francis Xavier to India and treat of his work there and that of his successors have been published. These are valuable for the history of the East from Ethiopia on the west to Japan on the east. The bibliography of Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, vols. IV and V, *Asiatische Missions-literatur*, Aachen, 1928-29, is practically complete for this literature but G. Schurhammer, S. J., *Die Zeitgenössischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarländer* (1538-1552), Leipzig, 1932, with 6,080 registers and thirty tables and bibliography, should also be consulted. The Franciscan history is given in a manuscript in the Vatican by Paulo da Trindade, entitled *Conquista spiritual do Oriente*, 1638, Vat. Lat. 7746. Most of the Dominican records are unpublished.

THE SPANISH DOMINATION⁴

The controversy which arose regarding the succession to the throne of Portugal in 1580 and its acquisition by Philip II of Spain is told by F. Marques de Sousa Viterbo in *O prior do Crato e a invasão Hespanhola de 1580*, Lisbon, 1897; J. M. Rubio in *Felipe II y Portugal*, Madrid, 1927; and J. Suárez Inclán, *Guerra de anexión de Portugal durante el reinado de Don Felipe II*, Madrid, 1897-98, an important work dealing particularly with the years 1578-82. A. Danvila in his *Don Cristobal de Maura*, Madrid, 1900, tells in a very scholarly way the story of a Spanish minister of Philip II. The *Revolutions of Portugal* of Abbé Vertot is now of little value but *Dell' unione del regno di Portogallo, Alla Corona di Castiglia*, by Jeronimo de Franchi Conestaggio, Genoa, 1585, is still of some importance. During the sixty years which followed Portugal's union with Spain, her history is merged with that country in her external relations, although the rule of the

⁴ Towards the end of the sixteenth century when Portugal was under the domination of Spain the closing of the Tagus to Dutch and English ships raised the prices of sugar and eastern commodities to the Dutch in Antwerp and to the English who traded there, particularly for tea. This led to the active participation of these countries in the East and later of the Dutch in Brazil.

fifteen viceroys was relatively tolerant and a certain amount of independence was retained. Her resources were depleted and her colonies became the prey of her foes, Spain, England, and Holland. The population of Portugal also, which in 1500 has been estimated as 1,800,000, fell to 1,100,000 by 1580. In this period the great epic, *Os Lusíadas* of Luiz de Camões kept alive and stimulated the desire for renewed independence among the people, and minor historians such as Faria y Sousa with his histories of Portugal and the first portion of the *Monarchia Lusitania*, glorifying the Lusitanians from the beginning of the world to the establishment of the monarchy,⁵ helped to bring about the struggles for the Restoration which began by the assumption of the throne by D. João IV in 1640.

THE RESTORATION

The history of the restoration which followed is told by L. A. Rebello da Silva in his *Historia de Portugal nos seculos XVII e XVIII*, Lisbon, 1860-71, 5 vols.; by D. Serafin Estébanez Calderón, in *De la conquista y perdida de Portugal*, Madrid, 1885, 2 vols., devoted almost entirely to the six campaigns leading to the conclusion of peace; by D. F. M. de Mello, in *Espanáforas de vária história portuguesa*, 3d ed., Coimbra, 1931; by Carlos Roma do Bocage, in *Subsidios para o estudo das Relações exteriores em seguida á restauração de Portugal (1640-1649)*, Lisbon, 1916, and by him with E. Prestage in *Relação da Embaixada á Franca em 1641 por João Franco Barreto, reimpressa com noticias e documentos elucidativos*, Coimbra, 1918; by E. Prestage in *As duas Embaixadas do 1º Marquês de Niza a Franca (1642-1645 and 1647-1649)*, Coimbra, 1919; and *The diplomatic relations of Portugal with France, England and Holland from 1640 to 1668*, Watford, 1925; and by E. Prestage and Pedro de Azevedo in *Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho durante a sua embaixada em Holanda*, Vol. I (1642-1646), Vol. II (1647-1648), Coimbra, 1920. The *Historia de Portugal Restaurado*,

⁵ Pts. 1-2 by Bernardo de Brito, *Cronista Mór*, first ed. Alcobaca, 1597; pts. 3-4 by Antonio Brandão (previously mentioned), first ed. Lisbon, 1632; pts. 5-6 by Rafael de Jesus, Lisbon, 1583, and pt. 8 by Manuel de Santos (mentioned later), Lisbon, 1727. Though important at the time all of these have been largely superseded.

by D. Luis de Menezes, Lisbon, 1679-98, 2 vols., is still useful. For a later period the work of Damião Peres, *A diplomacia portuguesa e a successão de Espanha 1700-1711*), is of value. The institution of the Academia Real da Historia Portuguesa by a decree of D. João V in 1720 led to the publication of the *Collecção dos documentos da academia real de Historia portuguesa*, Lisbon, 1721-1736, in 15 vols.

POMBAL

For the period of the Marquis of Pombal the following works may be consulted: John Smith (Conde da Carnota), *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal*, 1843, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1871, entitled *Marquis of Pombal*; Z. Brandão, *O Marquês de Pombal (unpublished documents)*, Lisbon, 1905; D. M. Sotto y Mayor, *O Marquês Pombal, exame e historia critica da sua administração*, Oporto, 1905; C. J. de Menezes, *Os Jesuitas e o Marquês de Pombal*, Porto, 1893, 2 vols.; João Lúcio de Azevedo, *O Marquês de Pombal e sua época* and *Collecção dos negocios de Roma no reinado de El-Rey Dom José, ministerio do Marquês de Pombal . . .* (ed. by Judice Biker), Lisbon, 1874-1885, 4 vols. For the relations of Portugal with Spain, France, and England during the period which followed Pombal, ending with the formation of a constitutional monarchy in 1826, bibliographies such as that of E. Prestage, *Portugal and the War of Spanish Succession, a bibliography*, have been produced which should be consulted by the special student. There may be mentioned, however, Caetano Beirão, *D. Maria I (1777-92)*, 2d ed., Lisbon, 1934, and J. M. Latino Coelho, *Historia de Portugal desde os fins do XVIII seculo até 1814*, Lisbon, 1874-91, 3 vols. A few works of importance of the more recent period may be noted: S. J. da Luz Soriano, *Historia da guerra civil, e do estabelecimento do governo parlamentar em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1866-1890, 19 vols., and his *Historia do Cerco do Porto*, Lisbon, 1846-1849, 2 vols.; Conde da Carnota, *Memoirs of Field-marshal the Duke of Saldanha, with selections of his correspondence*, London, 1880, 2 vols.; W. Bollaert, *The wars of succession of Portugal and Spain from 1821 to 1840*, London, 1870, 2 vols.; J. P. Oliveira Martins, *Portugal contemporaneo (1826-1868)*, 4th ed., Lisbon, 1906, 2 vols.; and

the *Livro Branco* containing documents relating to the participation of Portugal in the Great War.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Alexandre Herculano, in his history of Portugal, gives an excellent picture of the economic and social conditions at the beginning of the national history. In addition to the general histories, the following specialized works should be noted: H. de Gama Barros, *Historia da administração publica em Portugal nos seculos XII á XV*, Lisbon, 1895-1914, 3 vols.; A. de Sousa Silva Costa Lobo, *Historia da sociedade em Portugal*; F. de Almeida, *Subsidios para a historia economica de Portugal*, Oporto, 1920; A. de Eça, *Normas económicas na colonisação Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1921; L. de Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos reinos de Portugal, India e ilhas adjacentes e outras particularidades*, Lisbon, 1859, a report made for Philip II by one of his secretaries; J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Épocas de Portugal economico*, Lisbon, 1929; Teixeira de Andrade, *Portugal económico*, Lisbon, 1902; and A. C. T. de Aragão, *Descrição geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1880, 3 vols. The *Cortes geraes* has been discussed by the Visconde de Santarém in *Memorias para a historia e theoria das cortes geraes que em Portugal se celebrarão pelos tres estados do reino*, Lisbon, 1827-1828, 3 vols., with supplementary documents; by M. P. Nerêa, *O poder real e as Cortes*, Coimbra, 1923; by E. Prestage, *The royal power and the Cortes in Portugal*, Watford, 1927; and by J. C. dos Santos, *Documentos para a historia das Cortes geraes da Nação Portuguesa, Coordinação autorizado pela Camara dos senhores Deputados*, Lisbon, 1883-1887, 4 vols. The early laws of Portugal became much confused and during the reign of Afonso V the first systematic collection, *Ordenações Afonsinas*, was made. These were modified during the reign of D. Manuel and renamed *Ordenações Manuelinas*. They were again changed under Philip II to conform more closely with those of Spain, and called the *Ordenações Filipinas* and published by his son in 1603. For this subject consult J. P. Ribeiro, *Dissertações*

chronologicas e criticas sobre a historia e jurisprudencia ecclesiastica e civil de Portugal, Acad. Real das Sc. de Lisboa, 1816-1836, 5 vols.

RELIGIOUS HISTORY

There is an enormous amount of material for the religious history of Portugal as there is for all other European countries. Among the significant works which have been produced are: Fortunato de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, Coimbra, 1910, 4 vols.; J. F. Judice Biker, *Documentos ineditos para subsidio á historia ecclesiastica de Portugal*, 14 vols., relating to the reigns of D. João V, D. José I, D. João VI, and the regency of D. Pedro; Manuel Bernardes Branco, *Historia das ordens monasticas em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1888, 3 vols.; Fr. F. da Soledade, *Historia Seraphica chronologica de S. Francisco, Provincia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1705-21, which in volumes 3, 4, and 5 gives the history of the Franciscans between 1448 and 1715; and *Historia de S. Domingos, particular do reino e conquistas de Portugal*, Lisboa, 1866, 6 vols., the first three parts of which were written by Fr. Luis Cacegas and revised and edited by Fr. Luis de Sousa. The fourth part was written entirely by Fr. Lucas de Santa Catharina and dedicated to D. João V. While these works deal chiefly with the Dominicans in Portugal there are also references to those in Brazil and the Orient. Alexandre Herculano, in his *Da origem e do estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal* (1st ed., 1854-55, 2 vols.), 4th ed., Lisbon, 1888, 3 vols., tr. by J. C. Branner, Stanford University, gives an impartial recital of the struggles between João III and the Jews, and the volumes of C. J. de Menezes, *A inquisição em Portugal*, Oporto, 1893, and A. P. Lopes de Mendoça, *Damião de Goes e a inquisição* are of value. The *Consolaçam ás tribulações de Israel* of Samuel Usque, Coimbra, 1906-08, 3 vols., apart from the Portuguese historians, is an important source for a description of the persecutions of the Jews in the sixteenth century. João Lúcio de Azevedo, *Historia dos Christãos Novos portugueses*, Lisbon, 1922, and Mendes dos Remédios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, Coimbra, 1895, are important. Of the *Historia da Companhia de Jesus na Assistencia de Portugal*

by Francisco Rodrigues, Oporto, 1931-, the two volumes thus far published cover the period between 1540 and 1560. The bibliography of Jesuit literature is very large. Many of the documents relating to Portugal may be consulted in *Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu*, Rome, 1894-1935, 63 vols.

WILLIAM B. GREENLEE.

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TWO ARTICLES ON THE SAME TOPIC

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO AND POPULARISM IN
SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

AND

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO'S CRITICISMS OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, BY
FRANCISCO LÓPEZ DE GÓMARA

In a piece of historical writing, arrangement is argument; statements of fact, every one of which is true, can be arranged in many ways, and as some arrangement is always necessary, no history can be truly "impartial." (Shotwell, *The History of History*, p. 198.)

Today there is little to envy in the situation of those of us who have been brought up on historical studies within the confident, cheerful atmosphere of the positivist creed. In this atmosphere we were being put to sleep while we devoted ourselves to the placid gleaning of documents, the contribution of "facts," and our scruples were dispelled with the assertion that interpretation and synthesis would come later, would be a task for subsequent generations who could build upon the solid foundation which we were going to hand to them.

What a serene life our teachers led in spite of their painstaking research! No philosophical preoccupations, no visions of history as a whole, no shadow of disputable or contradictory ideas to trouble them. Look for facts, bring in new documents, refine your philological techniques, increase your materials, and the truth will then issue of its own accord like ripe fruit.

And today? Do we, by chance, have anything left of these confident illusions? Have we really learned so many things from the heaps of material which our predecessors have so diligently accumulated? Or, on the contrary, do we find ourselves overwhelmed, thoroughly weary, in danger of suffering the fate of Anatole France's scholar who was buried beneath the torrent of his own notes?

It is a serious matter to have to accept this last situation as the one we actually face. After the confident attitude, the passive and essentially comfortable attitude of the positivists, who, after all, did no more than repeat—consciously or unconsciously—"after me, the deluge," we find that the deluge has already begun and that its waters threaten to swallow us.

At first sight this situation could not be more discouraging. Positivism took the human element out of history and, what is more serious, took the human element out of the historian. It required that the latter be as detached as a recording machine, that he remain apart from every conflict and every idea of his times, and that he become empty of all spiritual content. Only in this way could the historian analyze and criticize the productions of other periods and cultures different from his own, acquiring the elusive possession of historic knowledge.

Has this end been attained? When the historian became empty of spiritual content, his work remained empty too. Instead of achieving a higher standard, what he has done has been to lower his standard, and one sees the result in the fact that people do not generally read history today. The historian has gradually been converted into a narrow individual who exchanges notes with colleagues, as he might exchange stamps or solve chess moves by postal card. In the best of cases the man of the street thinks of the historian as a poor creature who is incapable of facing life and who takes refuge in study of the past because there he finds no opposition, no struggle, with which he does not feel fit to cope. The man of the street is today, as he always has been, eager for history, and he pounces upon the production of those who, because they have taken an active part in the whirlwind of contem-

porary events, give to the account of their own and others' lives a vitality, a breath of passion, something which is never found in the works of professional historians.

In my opinion it cannot be denied that if any type of historiography has kept alive in our times, it has been biography, which has been cultivated—with more or less impurity—by persons who do not represent the field of historical studies, strictly speaking, but who have been careful to avoid that coldness, that gravity, and that deathly quality which have infested the productions of “scientific” history.

Can this not serve as an indication of the road we are to follow? Does not the success of some recently published biographies make it clear that the public perceives and appreciates in these works the existence of elements which have always been essential to history, the polished style of the account and the task of intelligent selection which emphasizes certain aspects while it disregards all confusing and irrelevant points? But there is more to be said. Of all the types of historical literature, biography is the only one which has managed to keep in contact with human life, contrary to the mechanizing process in which the “scientific” historians have gloried. This has saved it from catastrophe, because history is, as Huizinga says, the subject which maintains closest contact with life, and it is immediately killed if one wishes to disregard this intimate relationship.

One may think, then, that everything is not lost—that there is a road to salvation for the historian, and that the direction of this road is opposite that of the road over which he has recently been travelling. The historian will have to become human; he will have to admit the humble truth that he too is a being with limitations, a complex of ideas and passions and instincts—a man, in short, with all the grandeur and the servitude this implies. Only thus, by accepting beforehand all his limitations with respect to time, space, culture, and way of life—that is to say, with respect to his total environment—can he focus his attention upon the past, enrich his vision with first-hand experience, and let himself in turn be enriched by the selfsame past.

These considerations, among others which preoccupy and disturb many history scholars, have claimed my attention in a very special way because of conflicting impressions which have been made upon me by some studies I had been pursuing, and the vicissitudes of my own life. I know it sounds like heresy for the historian to talk about himself, but I cannot avoid it—nor do I wish to. Before the beginning of the war in Spain, I was working on the preparation of a critical edition of the *Verdadera Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, by Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Since I needed to submit a paper for the Twenty-sixth Congress of Americanists which was held in Seville in October, 1935, I had to summarize in a somewhat risky fashion—as one always must—my viewpoints on some aspects of Spanish historiography and, in particular, on Bernal Díaz's book. This summary constitutes the first of the following articles. In it I accept as true Bernal's version of the Mexican conquest. The men who surround Cortés, and not the conqueror himself, are the ones who bear the entire burden, who have initiative and responsibility in the most difficult moments. Cortés is just one of the group.

If the war had not taken place in Spain, the prologue to my edition of Bernal—of which the article cited is only a preliminary study—might have been conceived and drawn up in analogous terms. But the war broke out, I took part in it, and in this manner I acquired a direct, vivid experience in connection with military problems, an experience which all the history books in the world would not have given me. And I saw at close range what there is to war—that touchstone of every human value, since in it the presence of death, which is ordinarily more faint and hidden, is ever existent: the rôle of the leaders who know how to command, and that of the soldiers who know how to obey and to die; the profound need of hierarchy and discipline in an army; all things that we had been forgetting, perhaps scorning, in our civilized, liberal, and individualistic society. This made me completely revise my ideas about a series of historical problems, and about Bernal's book also. After the war ended, I read it again, I studied Gómara's text with greater attention than before, I compared the two, and I arrived at the conclusions stated in the second

of the articles published here. In these conclusions, although I do not altogether accept Gómara's partiality toward Cortés, I admit that Cortés played a much more outstanding rôle in the conquest than the one assigned him by Bernal.

Would my judgment have changed thus, if the tremendous experience of the Spanish war had not occurred during my lifetime? Probably not. The change has led me to believe that the joint publication of the two articles might be interesting, as it may give food for thought to the confident believers in the simple accumulation of data as the only possible generator of better understanding. In my case there has been no simple accumulation of data, but a "change in viewpoint," which is not the result of readings and reflections, but the consequence of a vivid experience. The same person—if I can say I am now the same person that I was before the war—working on the same subject, using the same method, can arrive at different and even contrary conclusions, if a change in his life takes place. Is not this a topic worthy of the attention of scientific historians? I believe so. For this reason I have thought that the simultaneous publication of my two articles may constitute a contribution not lacking in interest with regard to meditation on subjects which preoccupy many cultivators of history today. Is it possible, as we have recently been told, that the historian lays personality entirely aside when he begins work? If this is not possible, to what extent can, and should, his personality and that of his period and environment influence his vision of the past? What complex of ideas and sentiments does the historian use, consciously or subconsciously, to analyze facts, to select them, and to interpret them, now that selection, interpretation, and synthesis are becoming prime necessities? Will this subjective element spoil the unity and cohesion of historic learning attained after the output of great effort? These urgent questions are bound to keep positivist historians awake, to interrupt their siesta of an endless publication of documents. While it is true that these problems complicate the historian's mission dreadfully, it is also true that, if they are not stated in an honest, uncompromising manner, his efforts run the risk of proving fruitless.

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO AND POPULARISM IN SPANISH HISTORIOGRAPHY¹

Of all the sciences, History is the one closest to life. In this indestructible relationship are inherent History's weakness and strength. This makes History's standards variable, its certainty doubtful; but at the same time it gives History its universality, its importance, its seriousness.²

These words of Huizinga have, without doubt, universal significance, but I consider them more applicable to Spain than to any other country. In Spain history is so intimately connected with life that our most valuable historical productions are those which have been written in the very wake of events, those which have sprung from a direct vision, from living the incidents related.

Frequently when the Spanish scholar prepares a history of the high scientific type based on documents and books, he fails to reach his goal. In this respect it will be sufficient for us to remember what happened with the official chronicle of the Indies.³ On the other hand, any witness of, or participant in, outstanding events generally has in our ranks a talent, a plastic force in description, a liveliness and exactitude in detail, which I do not believe have been attained in the historical writings of other countries.

On our soil historical works have abounded. The purpose of the medieval chronicle was to relate facts about kings, according to what we are told in the chronicle of Alfonso XI,⁴ a model of this type of literature in Fueter's opinion.⁵ In fact, from the time of Alfonso X on, each Spanish monarch has

¹ A paper presented to the Twenty-sixth Congress of Americanists, Seville, 1935.

² J. Huizinga, *Sobre el estado actual de la ciencia histórica* (Madrid, 1934), pp. 10-11.

³ See Rómulo D. Carbia, *La Crónica oficial de las Indias occidentales*. La Plata, 1934.

⁴ "And although the chronicles were made to relate the deeds of kings, because this challenge of these two knights was told as a thing that concerned the person of the king, the historian wrote it in this book." *Crónica del rey Don Alfonso el Onceno*, in the collection *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. 66, p. 337.

⁵ Ed. Fueter, *Histoire de l'Historiographie moderne* (Paris, 1914), p. 281.

one or several chronicles dedicated to the account of events during his reign. The authors of these works are not always known.

In the fifteenth century, when royal power declines under the weak monarchs of the Trastamara dynasty, not only the deeds of the king, but also those of the noblemen, furnish the chronicles with material. So, beside the chronicle of Enrique III will appear the magnificent one of Don Pero Niño, Count of Buelna, a model knight; beside the chronicle of Juan II, that of his favorite, Don Alvaro de Luna; beside the chronicles of Enrique IV, that of his favorite, the lord high constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, that of Don Alfonso de Monroy, treasurer of Alcántara, and others. Kings and noblemen parade in the wonderful gallery of pictures found in Pérez de Guzmán's *Generaciones y Semblanzas*.

In the fifteenth century there also appears in Spain the book of travels, represented by the delightful *Andanças* of Pero Tafur, a knight of a noble Andalusian family, who, taking advantage of the truces with the Moors of Granada, makes a trip to the Holy Land and travels through various countries. Pero Tafur, whose work lent itself to the narration of every kind of marvel, will tell us: "I had good information about the city of Damasco, but, since I did not see it, I leave that for one who has seen it."⁶

At the height of the Renaissance during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when history tries to raise its standards by imitating models of ancient times—which procedure merely fills the account with confused dissertations, as occurs in Hernando del Pulgar's chronicle—there appears a magnificent representative of the direct narrative, of the popular type, in Andrés Bernáldez, a priest of Los Palacios. The latter will not be above telling us that he writes his book at the request of a grandmother of his:

At the age of twelve I, the author of these memoirs, was reading in the register of a deceased grandfather, who was public clerk in the town of Fuentes, in the region of León, where I was born. I then came across some chapters concerning heroic things which had happened in his time. Upon hearing these things read, my widowed

⁶ *Andanças e viajes de Pero Tafur* (Madrid, 1874), p. 66.

grandmother, his wife, who was already quite old, said to me: "Son, why don't you write that way about things of the present? For you must not be lazy about writing the good things which may happen during your lifetime, so that people who come afterwards may read those things and, marvelling as they read, may give thanks to God."⁷

Nor will he fail to mention that Queen Isabella tore out her hair when she learned of the rebellious attitude which the Archbishop of Toledo, Don Alonso Carillo, had taken:

And the archbishop, with bad judgment, sent a message to the queen in order that she might definitely know that, if she went there, as soon as she entered Alcalá through one gate, he would go flying through the other. And as the queen learned this during mass, after the mass she was so angry that she flung her hands to her hair.⁸

The dawn of a new Spain will begin to reveal itself in the simple notes of a childish song:

After the beginning of the wars in Castile between King Enrique and the noblemen of his kingdom, and before the marriage of Ferdinand to Queen Isabella, in Castile there was sung to a good tune a song which young people, who are generally fond of music, used to sing: "Flowers of Aragon are within Castile." And the children would take little banners, and mounted on sticks like knights on horseback, they would sing: "Banner of Aragon, banner of Aragon!" And I used to sing it, and I sang it more than five times. Now then we can well say here, in accordance with later experience: "Domine, ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem. . . ."⁹

Without dropping this familiar tone Bernáldez writes unexcelled pages on the capture of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews, and the discovery of America. Only too well known is his biographical sketch of Christopher Columbus.¹⁰

While havoc is wrought in Spain by the erudite tendency in historiography, which gives us involved accounts of the life of the Great Captain, Latin texts concerning the life of Cisneros, and a multitude of outlines and collections of material for the life of Carlos V,¹¹ the uncultured Spaniard, with his

⁷ Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos* (2 vols., Seville, 1870), I, 27.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

¹¹ In the history of the Emperor the popular element triumphs once more over erudition. The only one who fully succeeds is the comical Don Francesillo de Zúñiga. See Alfred Morel-Fatio, *L'Historiographie de Charles V.* Paris, 1913.

high-spirited eagerness to contemplate spectacles never before seen and to accomplish extraordinary feats, turns up and runs loose in America. From now on, neither kings nor noblemen, but any leader or soldier in any expedition of conquest, carries out the heroic deeds. Consequently there is a change in the social level of topics and authors of chronicles. Fernández de Oviedo asserts that it is a matter of a typically Spanish feature:

A rare thing and a precious gift of nature, and one not seen in any other nation so bounteously and generously bestowed as on the Spanish people; because in Italy, France, and the other kingdoms of the world, only the knights are specially or naturally trained for war and dedicated to it, or inclined or disposed toward it; and of the other classes, those who are devoted to mechanical trades and to agriculture, and the populace, few are the ones who engage in arms or like to wage war abroad. But in our Spanish nation it seems utterly common that all men were born to be dedicated principally and specially to arms and their practice, and arms and war are so fitting to them that everything else is accessory, and they willingly abandon all occupations for the militia. And for this reason, although few in number, the Spanish conquerors have always done in these places what many from other nations could not have done nor brought about.¹²

It is a foreigner—Friederici—who tells us that in no country is there so great a number of soldier-chroniclers as in Spain.¹³ Characteristic of these is their scorn for bookish erudition, even though they try to exhibit their own ingenuously and repeatedly.¹⁴ A genuine representative of this attitude

¹² Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Océano* (3 pts. in 4 vols., Madrid, 1851-55), I, 475.

¹³ Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer* (Stuttgart, 1925), p. 203. "Zwar haben auch die übrigen in Amerika kolonisierenden Völker unter ihren Laien Männer gehabt, deren Aufzeichnungen von hohem Wert für die alte Völkerkunde Amerikas sind . . . aber eine derartige Kernschar von Soldatenchronisten wie Spanien hat kein anderes Volk aufzustellen vermocht, wie denn ja damals und für lange Zeit das spanische Heer das beste Europas war."

¹⁴ Oviedo continually quotes Plinius, "el Tostado," and Pero Mexía. The Spaniards find an Indian boy called Echo, and Oviedo remarks: "Indeed I believe that the father who gave him this name Echo did not know who the nymph Echo that fell in love with Narcissus was." *Op. cit.*, II, 435. His comments on the designation of a town with the name of Carthagea are equally significant. *Ibid.*, p. 448.

is Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who at every step says that elegance of style and erudition are of no use unless one has lived what he wishes to relate. His attacks are directed against Peter Martyr, a palatine chronicler who wrote his *Decadas de Orbe Novo* without stirring from Spain. "All the more because past writers, not as experimenters like our Spaniards, searching for the world, but as spectators, standing still, spoke to his liking."¹⁵ "I have not taken the material of these books from two thousand thousands of books I have read, as Plinius writes in the passage alluded to . . . , but I accumulated everything that I write here from two thousand millions of hardships and privations and dangers in the twenty-two years and over that I have been seeing and experiencing these things personally."¹⁶

Sentences like these are continually arising in Oviedo's pages. And if Oviedo was at heart frightened at the thought that he was deficient in culture, still more frightened must have been Bernal Díaz del Castillo, one of the fighters who won greatest distinction in the conquest of Mexico. He himself tells us he stopped writing his chronicle when that of Gómara, Cortés' chaplain, reached his hands.¹⁷ Nevertheless, he resumed the work after he became convinced of the falsehoods which the commander's panegyric clergyman was reciting. Bernal Díaz adopts before Gómara the same attitude that Oviedo does before Peter Martyr. And although his book offers wonderful, unique qualities, posterity has not done its merits justice, but rather has accepted the adverse judgment of Antonio Solís, the seventeenth-century chronicler who, thanks to his marvellous prose, has given the classic version of the account of the Mexican conquest by the Spaniards. With regard to Bernal's book, Solís says:

Today it is considered true history, as the very negligence of its style and its lack of adornment serve to make it resemble the truth and to verify for some persons the author's sincerity; but although it is to his advantage that he witnessed what he wrote, one perceives from his own book that he did not look at things dispassionately so that his

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, III, 636.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 6.

¹⁷ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, ch. XVIII.

pen might be well controlled: he proves to be as satisfied with his ingenuity as he is dissatisfied with his luck; between the lines envy and ambition are very obvious; and many times the display of these feeling ends in complaints against Hernán Cortés, the principal hero of this history, as he tries to fathom Cortés' intentions and to amend his counsels; and often he presents as infallible not what his captain ordained and directed, but what was being murmured by the soldiers, among whose ranks the common element is as great as elsewhere, since everywhere there is equal danger that those who were born to obey be allowed to express their opinions.¹⁸

The historians who criticize Bernal's chronicle usually limit themselves to dwelling on what Solís has said, and they all speak of our chronicler's unpolished style, his arrogance, and even his animosity toward Cortés.¹⁹ All this is inaccurate. Bernal's style can hardly be excelled in descriptive force or narrative ease. He has a feeling for preciseness in details, which is strengthened by a surprising memory. If Alonso de Grado, a captain of whom Cortés used to complain, is put in stocks for two days, Bernal will give us the news, adding: "I remember that the wood of those stocks had a scent of onions or garlic."²⁰ Extremely anxious to attain the maximum veracity, he does not consider the most minute details unworthy of his account. He never forgets to count the steps of the temples. "And then we went down the steps, and as they numbered one hundred and fourteen, and as some of our soldiers were suffering from tumours and abscesses, their legs were tired by the descent."²¹ Neither do the piles of skulls escape his attention. "I remember that in the plaza where some of their oratories stood, there were piles of human skulls

¹⁸ Antonio de Solís, *Historia de la Conquista de México* (Barcelona, 1711), p. 5.

¹⁹ The Mexican historian Carlos Pereyra analyzes briefly the change experienced in the appreciation of Bernal's work from Solís' time to Prescott's. (In Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Descubrimiento y conquista de México*, Buenos Aires, "Virtus," s.a., pp. 19-26.) He does not mention the Englishman, Cunninghame Graham, who is, in my opinion, the one that has best understood our chronicler. (R. B. Cunninghame Graham, *Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Being some account of him, taken from his true history of the conquest of New Spain*. London, 1915.)

²⁰ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* (edited and published in Mexico by Genaro García, translated into English with Introduction and Notes by Alfred Percival Maudslay, Hakluyt Society. 5 vols., London, 1908-1916). Ch. XCVI, Vol. II, p. 103. (All references will be to this edition.)

²¹ Ch. XCII, Vol. II, p. 79.

so regularly arranged that one could count them, and I estimated them at more than a hundred thousand. . . . And in another part of the plaza there were so many piles of dead men's thigh bones that one could not count them."²²

However, no matter how expressive and savory these minute details may be, they are not sufficient to make a great artist of Bernal. His pen maintains its exactitude and vigor when extensive accounts are being treated, and he describes the incidents of a battle the same as he does the tumult of the big Mexican market or Moctezuma's mode of life.²³

Let us consider one scene taken at random:

They then asked us by signs to go with them to their town, and we took council together as to what we should do, and decided to go with them, keeping well on the alert and in good formation. They led us to some large houses very well built of masonry, which were the Temples of their Idols, and on the walls were figured the bodies of many great serpents and snakes and other pictures of evil-looking Idols. These walls surrounded a sort of Altar covered with clotted blood. On the other side of the Idols were symbols like crosses, and all were coloured. At all this we stood wondering, as they were things never seen or heard of before. It seemed as though certain Indians had just offered sacrifices to their Idols so as to ensure victory over us. However, many Indian women moved about us, laughing, and with every appearance of good will, but the Indians gathered in such numbers that we began to fear that there might be some trap set for us at Catoche. While this was happening, many other Indians approached us, wearing very ragged mantles and carrying dry reeds, which they deposited upon the plain, and behind them came two squadrons of Indian archers in cotton armour, carrying lances and shields, slings and stones, and each captain drew up his squadron at a short distance from where we stood. At that moment, there sallied from another house, which was an oratory of their Idols, ten Indians clad in long white cotton cloaks, reaching to their feet, and with their long hair reeking with blood, and so matted together, that it could never be parted or even combed out again, unless it were cut. These were the priests of the Idols, who in New Spain are commonly called "papas" and such I shall call them hereafter. These priests brought us incense of a sort of resin which they call "copal," and with pottery braziers full of live coals, they began to fumigate us, and by signs

²² Ch. LXI, Vol. I, p. 222.

²³ Ch. CXXII, XCI, and XCII.

they made us understand that we should quit their land before the firewood which they had piled up there should burn out, otherwise they would attack us and kill us. After ordering fire to be put to the reeds, the priests withdrew without further speech. Then the warriors who were drawn up in battle array began to whistle and sound their trumpets and drums.²⁴

After reading passages like this, one does not understand the unfavorable opinion of a historian of Prescott's category: "The literary merits of the work are of a very humble order; as might be expected from the condition of the writer."²⁵ And it is Prescott too who speaks to us of Bernal's vulgar vanity which bursts forth with truly comic ostentation on every page of his book.²⁶ The great American historian must have had a strange idea of human nature if, according to him, feats like the conquest of Mexico may not engender pride in the persons who accomplish them. The conquerors are fully aware of the historical perspective of their acts, and sentences like these are frequent in Bernal:

As to what you say, sirs, that the most renowned Roman captains have never done such great deeds as we have—you tell the truth. And from now onwards, God helping us, they will say in the histories that record these events far more than they may have said about those that happened before.

What men have there been in the world who, numbering four hundred soldiers (we did not even reach that number), would have dared to enter into such a strong city as Mexico, which is larger than Venice, and is distant from our own Castile more than fifteen hundred leagues, and take prisoner so great a Prince, and punish his Captains before his eyes!²⁷

If what is being discussed is our chronicler's personal participation in the great enterprise, one ought to read the last chapters of his book, particularly the wonderful "Record of the Battles and Encounters in Which I Was Present." The man who had such deeds to his credit might well say, without being accused of vulgar vanity: "And among the brave con-

²⁴ Ch. III, Vol. I, pp. 19-20.

²⁵ William Prescott, *History of the conquest of Mexico* (London, 1929), p. 457.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Ch. LXIX, Vol. I, p. 254, and ch. XCV, Vol. II, p. 100.

quistadores, my comrades (and there were very valiant ones among them) they included me as being the oldest of them all. I once more assert, and I repeat it so many times, that I am the oldest of them, and have served as a very good soldier of His Majesty."²⁸

Bernal's attitude toward Cortés, and the relationship which existed between the soldiers and their captain, set before us an extremely delicate problem: nothing less than that of the relationship between a genial individual and the mass of people. Solís solved this question all at once, in the words already mentioned, with his aristocratic thesis. And yet the expeditions of conquest may well cause us to think that the truth was otherwise, that the ones who took part in them played a rôle very different from that of a common soldier in our day, that it was necessary to rely upon such men for the most serious decisions. This lessens the exclusive, conspicuous grandeur of the leader, and converts the mass of people into the principal agent of the epic. It is the populace itself who carries out the epic, it is the mass itself which is gifted with extraordinary, unique qualities. Bernal's pages are kept alive constantly by this breath of the group, whose driving force is directed toward a common goal:

It is here that the historian Gómara says that when Cortés ordered the ships to be scuttled that he did not dare to let the soldiers know that he wished to go to Mexico in search of the great Montezuma. It was not as he states, for what sort of Spaniards should we be not to wish to go ahead, but to linger in places where there was neither profit nor fighting?

Being in that town without any plans beyond finishing the fort, for we were still at work on it, most of us soldiers suggested to Cortés to let the fort stand as it was, for a memorial (it was just ready to be roofed), for we had already been over three months in the country and it seemed to us better to go and see what this great Montezuma might be like and to earn an honest living and make our fortune.²⁹

²⁸ The record is in ch. CCXII, Vol. V, p. 291. The paragraph quoted is taken from ch. CCX, Vol. V, p. 273.

²⁹ Ch. LVIII, Vol. I, pp. 209-210, and ch. LIII, Vol. I, pp. 192-193. Concerning the participation of captains and soldiers, in the juridical aspect, see: Silvio A. Zavala, *Los intereses particulares en la conquista de la Nueva España*. Madrid, 1933.

According to Bernal, Cortés used to assemble his captains and distinguished soldiers in council whenever any important resolution was to be taken: "Our Captain determined to take counsel of certain captains and soldiers whom he knew to be well disposed towards him (who besides being very valiant, were wise counsellors), because he never did anything without first asking our advice about it."³⁰ This should not surprise us if we remember that, when the expedition was organized, the very soldiers could exert influence in the designation of the leader: "Most of us soldiers who were there said that we should prefer to go again under Juan de Grijalva, for he was a good captain, and there was no fault to be found either with his person or his capacity for command."³¹ Vargas Machuca confirms for us this state of affairs in his *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*: "The soldier must recognize this obligation to be submissive to his leader's mandates, a thing which the soldier of the Indies observes very badly, with the arrogance that he knows as much as his leader, and, as he is a practical person, he needs no one to direct him, and, confident in this, soldiers commit a thousand errors worthy of punishment."³²

As for animosity toward Cortés, Bernal never had any. "Never in the world was a captain obeyed with more respect and punctuality," he tells us.³³ And he informs us that he will limit himself to calling Cortés by his name, without other titles, because Cortés' name alone surpasses all praise:

Although he was such a valiant, energetic and daring captain, I will not, from now on, call him by any of these epithets of valiant, or energetic, nor will I speak of him as Marqués del Valle, but simply as Hernando Cortés. For the name Cortés alone was held in as high respect throughout the Indies as well as in Spain, as was the name of Alexander in Macedonia, and those of Julius Caesar and Pompey and Scipio among the Romans, and Hannibal among the Carthaginians, or in our own Castille the name of Gonzalo Hernández, the Great Captain. And the valiant Cortés himself was better pleased not to be called by lofty titles but simply by his name.³⁴

³⁰ Ch. LXXXIV, Vol. II, p. 22.

³¹ Ch. XIX, Vol. I, p. 69.

³² Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias* (Madrid, 1599), fol. 53 v.

³³ Ch. LXXI, Vol. I, p. 263.

³⁴ Ch. XIX, Vol. I, p. 72.

What happens is that Bernal draws a living silhouette of Cortés; he gives us a man of flesh and blood, not a character from an academic tragedy. In his pages Cortés, without losing his heroic quality, takes purgatives, and laughs, and jokes with the Indians.³⁵ He does not use a solemn language, but one that is unaffected and popular. "Cortés replied that he could not rest, that 'a lame goat must not nap,' that he would go in person with the soldiers he had brought with him." "Cortés answered half angrily that 'It was better to die in a good cause, as the Psalms said, than to live dishonoured!'"³⁶ Nor will Bernal fail to tell us how, in the distribution of the booty, Cortés and his captains were the ones who took the lion's share for themselves, especially in the case of the captive Indian women, when they left the old ugly ones for the poor soldiers.³⁷ Doubtless the serious Solís was thinking of information of this type when he wrote: ". . . nor wasting time on insignificant details, which either soil the paper with what is indecent or fill it with the most unworthy material, as they accord more attention to the quantity than to the quality of the history."³⁸

I do not believe anyone will share that opinion today. History's greatness lies precisely in the fact that its characters are men and not gods. And Solís, who, figuratively speaking, heightened Cortés on Buskins, could not help but know that the shoe used by the leader and his soldiers in the conquest was the fiber sandal.³⁹

Where the importance of the chronicler's book has been most noticeable is in America, particularly in Mexico and

³⁵ "And he did not wish to give them his reply at once, because he had purged himself the day before with some camomiles such as are found in the Island of Cuba, and are very good for one who knows how to take them." (Ch. LXXXII, Vol. I, p. 265.) Magnificent examples of Cortés' humor are found in chs. XXXV and XLIX.

³⁶ Ch. LX, Vol. I, p. 212, and ch. LXIX, Vol. I, p. 256.

³⁷ Concerning the distribution of gold, see chs. CIX, CV, and CVI. For a distribution of captive Indian women, see ch. CXXXV.

³⁸ Solís, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³⁹ "While Cortés was fighting he lost a shoe in the mud and could not find it again, and he got on shore with one foot bare. Presently someone picked the shoe out of the mud and he put it on again." (Ch. XXXI, Vol. I.) "And we were shod with hempen shoes." (Ch. LXI, Vol. I.)

Guatemala. The Mexican historian, Carlos Pereyra, has written pages warm with admiration for Bernal's work.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, it is a Mexican, Genaro García, the editor of Bernal's chronicle, who makes a new charge against our author. He says that the latter lowers the Indians and elevates the Spaniards more than is fitting, "by way of contrast, or perhaps to weaken the interest which the Indians might arouse in the readers."⁴¹ That this is untrue is proved to us by careful reading of Bernal's pages. Our chronicler greatly admires the military virtues of the Mexicans. He speaks with enormous respect and affection of Moctezuma and his lordly qualities. He loves those who are under his command and is glad to hear that they are to be good Christians.⁴²

The conduct of the conquerors was more humane than that of any colonial army of our times. This is well proved by Gonzalo de Sandoval's expedition of chastisement to a village under Texcoco's rule:

Much blood of the Spaniards who had been killed was found on the walls of the Temple in that pueblo, for they had sprinkled their Idols with it, and he also found two faces which had been flayed, and the skin tanned like skin for gloves, the beards were left on, and they had been placed as offerings upon one of the altars. There were also found four tanned skins of horses very well prepared, with the hair on and the horse shoes, and they were hung up before the Idols in the great Cue. There were also found many garments of the Spaniards who had been killed hung up as offerings to these same Idols, and on the pillar of a house where they had been imprisoned, there was found written with charcoal: "Here was imprisoned the unfortunate Juan Yuste and many others whom I brought in my company." This Juan Yuste was a gentleman, and one of the horsemen whom they killed here, and was one of the persons of quality whom Narváez had brought with him. Sandoval and all his soldiers were moved to pity by all this and it grieved them greatly, but, how could the matter now be remembered except by being merciful to the people of the pueblo, however they had fled and would not wait, and had taken their women and children with them. A few women who were captured wept for their husbands and fathers, and when Sandoval saw this, he

⁴⁰ Carlos Pereyra, *op. cit.*

⁴¹ Page lxviii of the introduction to his edition of Bernal's chronicle, Mexico, 1904.

⁴² Chs. XCVII and CXLVI.

liberated four chieftains whom he had captured and all the women and sent them to summon the inhabitants of the pueblo, who came and begged for pardon.⁴³

I have spoken before of a democratizing tendency in the chronicles, a tendency which has more to do with their subject matter than with the manner in which they are written. There is a greater popular element, a more direct style in the first royal chronicles than in those of the nobles during the fifteenth century in Spain. The cultured trend, which had mixed harmoniously with the popular one in Pero López de Ayala—to a lesser degree in Alonso de Palencia—breaks openly with the popular movement at the beginning of the Renaissance period during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Renaissance opposition between the commoner and the scholar⁴⁴ becomes irreducible in historiography. And while the ambitious commoner opens the way for himself after his fashion, producing the splendid flora of the chronicles of the Indies, which culminates in Bernal's work, the peninsular scholars lose their way in their collections of material and the polishing of their prose. Only direct contact with events will bring to life accounts like those of Hurtado de Mendoza and Mármol Carvajal about the war with the Moriscos of Granada. The concern for form, so marked in these two authors, will lead in Spain's seventeenth century to such an extreme that not history is produced, but treatises on the manner of writing history, in which the qualities and talents befitting the historian are discussed—Cabrera de Córdoba, Fr. Jerónimo de San José.⁴⁵ The baroque movement will twist facts in its search for moral interpretations and maxims. Scholars of Nicolás Antonio's category will open the way to eighteenth-century research. But popular historiography will no longer raise its head. It remains buried in America, with the soldiers who wrote it.

⁴³ Ch. CXL, Vol. IV, p. 26.

⁴⁴ See: Américo Castro, *El Pensamiento de Cervantes* (Madrid, 1925), p. 210.

⁴⁵ Luis Cabrera de Córdoba, *De Historia, para entenderla y escribirla* (Madrid, 1611); Fr. Jerónimo de San José, *Genio de la Historia*. Madrid, 1651.

BERNAL DÍAZ DEL CASTILLO'S CRITICISMS OF
THE *HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF*
MEXICO, BY FRANCISCO LÓPEZ
DE GÓMARA

Prescott has said that the two pillars upon which rests the history of the Mexican conquest by the Spaniards are the chronicles of Gómara and Bernal Díaz del Castillo.¹ Now then, these two pillars, on the contrary, with their immutable symmetry, appear to me like sensitive thermometrical columns which vary continually as specific changes are produced in the atmosphere.

At the present time we are witnessing the ascendancy of Bernal Díaz, who seems to have definitely surpassed Gómara, without leaving the latter any possibility of regaining the ground lost. I, myself, in the Twenty-sixth Congress of Americanists, held in Seville in 1935, went to the defense of Bernal, whose chronicle I was then busy editing. I echoed the usual criticisms against Gómara, and I called him Cortés' panegyrist, servile adulator, and I do not know what else.

What was really the matter with me then was that I had not read Gómara with sufficient care. I do not wish to suggest that all those who today maintain the attitude maintained by me in 1935 are in the same situation. Not at all.² But the truth is that, after reading Gómara more carefully and comparing his book with that of Bernal Díaz, I have reached conclusions which differ considerably from my former ones, to such an extent that the present article turns out to be a defense of Gómara, or, at least, an attempt to restore the equilibrium which is so greatly inclined in Bernal Díaz's favor today.

As it is well known, this conqueror was already an old man when he undertook the relation of the conquest. He had

¹ "The two pillars on which the story of the conquest mainly rests, are the Chronicles of Gómara and Bernal Díaz." (W. H. Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico*, Book V, chapter VII.)

² Ramón Iglesia, *Bernal Díaz del Castillo and Popularism in Spanish Historiography*. (A paper presented to the Twenty-sixth Congress of Americanists, Seville, 1935.)

some chapters written when Gómara's book reached his hands. The first impression that its reading produced was one of discouragement; he thought that his account could never compete with that of the clergyman, and he was about to give it up;³ but he continued reading, and found—according to what he tells us—that Gómara's book was so full of falsehoods that he felt encouraged to resume his own, with the intention of refuting these falsehoods. "I wish to return to my story pen in hand as a good pilot carries his lead in hand at sea, looking out for the shoals ahead, when he knows that they will be met with, so will I do in speaking of the errors of the historians, but I shall not mention them all, for if one had to follow them item by item, the trouble of discarding the rubbish would be greater than that of gathering in the harvest."⁴

Today, in broad outline, this opinion of Bernal Díaz is considered correct. His history of the conquest is the true one, as he called it. This seems to imply that Gómara's is not. And I should like to call the reader's attention briefly to this matter.

Before continuing I must make a remark. I do not believe in historical impartiality in the sense that liberal positivist historiography has given this term: that of the existence of an exclusive, unique truth which it is always possible to attain. When I was an undergraduate studying chemistry—and I make this reservation because I am not very well informed about the present status of the question—there was a certain number of simple bodies beyond which one could not arrive in the decomposition of a material which was supposed to be unique. In an analogous manner one might explain what I understand by historical truth. Facts have been produced, without doubt, in a specific way, in a unique way; but in the verification of these facts, as in their analysis, we can go no further than the viewpoint of the persons who have witnessed and lived them, and told about them. The viewpoint of the immediate narrator is the simple body against which we come in our investigation. When there are several participants or witnesses narrating events, we can collect their viewpoints in

³ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 66.

⁴ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 68.

related groups; but, if there is disparity among them, in the selection we make will enter a new factor which will be, whether or not we so wish, our own viewpoint, as conditioned and as limited by a complex series of factors as are the viewpoints we submit to examination. I do not believe, as has normally been accepted, that a greater distance automatically provides a better vision of historic events.

A typical case of this kind is the one which arises with the history of the conquest of America by the Spaniards. According to who the writers are, according to their races and beliefs, opinions clash fearlessly and pens prolong the struggles they narrate. In the Congress of Americanists previously mentioned, there was a session in which the congressmen almost came to blows over the discussion of Padre Las Casas' personality and work. "What a lamentable spectacle!" some said. "What an inevitable spectacle!" I thought. If life is always struggle and conflict, the narration of this struggle, history, must be passionate, partial. We can be satisfied if passion is confined to noble limits and the narration of events is not deliberately falsified; but what we can never avoid is the variance of the point at issue according to the attitude of the one who is studying and analyzing it.

I fear my digression has been too long but I believe it necessary so that one may see clearly what I have been leading up to. By admitting the relativity, the contingency of historic knowledge, we acquire a greater liberty of movement, a greater validity for our conclusions, since we recognize their limitations "a priori."

Let us come concretely to the problem presented by the historiography of the Mexican conquest, to a valuation of its two basic texts. Today, in the name of a would-be historical impartiality, Bernal's book is preferred to Gómara's. Why? Is Bernal really more sincere, more detached in relating events? I think that what I shall here present will show that he is not. Are literary reasons, reasons of style, those that motivate the preference? Neither is this the case. Because, even if it is true that Bernal's book has unique qualities of spontaneity and freshness, Gómara's book is one of the most

beautiful products of the Castilian language. But, then, to what is the preference due? How can one explain the frequent reprints of Bernal, while Gómara, who enjoyed unprecedented success immediately after the publication of his work, is today an author whom one can hardly find and whom few people have read—except specialists, of course—in Spain as well as in Mexico?

The preference is due to what I said before about viewpoint. Through Bernal's pages, despite his constant protests of loyalty and admiration, there runs an almost open dissatisfaction with Cortés, a resentful desire to belittle his merits; on the other hand, in the pages of Gómara's book the conqueror is glorified. And so Bernal's viewpoint happens to coincide with that of a period which has striven to put all things on the same level, which has regarded genial individuals with suspicion, especially in the field of political and military action. Let it be understood that I am not an anti-democrat. What I am doing is pointing out certain tendencies of democratic thought which in the sphere of historical investigation have led to completely demagogical attitudes. I have not the slightest doubt that the conquest of America was an enterprise of the popular type, that the mass played an outstanding rôle in it; but what this mass does by itself when it does not find superior men to clarify its ideals and direct its energies, we see in the conquest of the West Indies, in the civil wars of Peru, and in a whole series of episodes not necessary to recollect here.

Cortés, with all his defects—he would not be human if he did not have them—was a superior man. And this is what Bernal did not want to admit: the exceptional character of Cortés' personality. For Bernal, Cortés was a good captain and no more—a good captain, something which abounded among the Spaniards at that time.⁵ For Gómara, Cortés was a genius. And today historians look sympathetically upon Bernal's testimony, for the same reason that makes them unearth any servant's statement that may prove unfavorable

⁵ Ch. LXVI, Vol. I, p. 244. "Suffice it to say that he bore himself like a good commander."

to the conqueror in the investigation of his conduct. All this happens, of course, in the name of historical impartiality.

Things would perhaps be made clear if we admitted that Bernal Díaz is as partial as Gómara, and that their viewpoints are opposite, which is particularly obvious when they pass judgment on Cortés' work. Gómara, chaplain of the Marqués del Valle, who is closely connected with him during his stay in Spain, writes his life and receives money for doing so.⁶ On the other hand, Bernal, a soldier whose name would have remained unknown if he himself had not done something to prevent it, has a grudge against Cortés because the latter always handles with great ease the first person singular, forgetting his companions' merits, which were not few. Bernal accuses him without mincing words: "This I assert that when in the beginning Cortés wrote to His Majesty, instead of ink, pearls and gold flowed from his pen, and all in his own praise and not about us valiant soldiers."⁷ "As we understood, he gave no account in his letter of Francisco Hernández de Córdova nor of Grijalva, but attributed the discovery, and the honour and glory of it all, to himself alone, and he said that now at this time it would be better to write thus, and not to report it to His Majesty. There were not wanting those who said to him that to our King and Lord nothing that had happened should be left untold."⁸

If Cortés adulterates the truth, according to Bernal, he does so for selfish purposes, to obtain favors from the Emperor, without remembering the others at all. When he was in Spain, "he did not seek to ask a single thing for us that might have benefited us, only for himself alone."⁹ This was a very harsh accusation on the part of Bernal, who was not exactly a model of disinterestedness. He complains constantly of his poverty and neediness, in complete disagreement with the documentary data referring to the last period of his life, when he carries his complaints to the extreme.¹⁰

⁶ For the relationship of Gómara to Cortés, see the preface to Roger Bigelow Merriman's edition of the *Annals of the Emperor Charles V*, by Francisco López de Gómara, Oxford, 1912.

⁷ Ch. CCXII, Vol. V, p. 289.

⁸ Ch. LIV, Vol. I, p. 198.

⁹ Ch. CCX, Vol. V, p. 277.

¹⁰ Concerning the economic situation of Bernal Díaz, see the introduction to J. Ramírez Cabañas' edition of Bernal's work, Mexico, 1939. (Vol. I, pp. 14-20.)

“And I say it with sorrow in my heart, for I find myself poor and very old, with a marriageable daughter and my sons young men already grown up with beards, and others to be educated, and I am not able to go to Castile to His Majesty to put before him things which are necessary for his Royal Service, and also that he should grant me favours, for they owe me many debts.”¹¹ If we compare these statements with the results shown by the documents mentioned, we shall see that one must treat what Bernal says with the greatest caution. He had the same unlimited greed as his companions, which he does not conceal, since he gives the search for riches as one of the motives of the conquest. “They died that cruel death in the service of God and His Majesty, and to give light to those who were in the darkness, and also to acquire riches, which all of us men usually came to seek.”¹²

Bernal has the mentality of a resentful person. He always reproaches Cortés for having kept the lion's share in the spoils of the conquest. Nor can he bear not having his own name occupy an important place in the relation of the enterprise. As his rôle must have been a secondary one, he has to raise the level of the group and lower that of Cortés in order to put himself on the highest plane. Besides the desire for riches was not Bernal's only incentive; he was also driven by the desire for glory, so typical among men of this Renaissance period. At the end of his book there is a short dialogue with “the good and illustrious Fame,” where he makes no secret of his grudge. Fame “loudly clamors, saying, that it would be just and reasonable that we should have good incomes and more advantages than other persons have who have not done service in these conquests nor in other parts for His Majesty. So it (Fame) inquires: ‘Where are our palaces and mansions, and what coats of arms are there on them distinguishing us from the others?’ And, ‘Are our heroic deeds and arms carved on them and placed as a memorial in the manner that gentlemen have them in Spain?’”¹³ Fame also asks where the conquerors' tombs are, and Bernal replies that “they are the bellies of the Indian who ate their

¹¹ Ch. CCX, Vol. V, p. 275.

¹² Ch. CCX, Vol. V, pp. 273-274.

¹³ Ch. CCX, Vol. V, p. 274.

legs and thighs, arms and flesh, and feet and heads, and the rest found sepulchre in, and their entrails were thrown to, the tigers and serpents and falcons which at that time they kept for show in strong houses, and those were their tombs and there are their blazons."¹⁴ Greed, the desire for glory, and resentment go hand in hand in the conclusion of the dialogue. "To this (question) which I have put to the most Virtuous Fame, she answers and says that she will very willingly do it, and adds that she is astonished that we do not possess the best assignments of Indians in the land, for we have conquered it, and His Majesty orders them to be given in the same way as to the Marquis Cortés (it is not understood that it would be to the same extent but in moderation)."¹⁵

If Cortés leaves his companions without due reward, Gómara's account takes from them the very last hope of obtaining it, since he overlooks their deeds. Hence, Bernal implicates both in his reproaches. Often he repeats that, if Gómara wrote in the fashion he did, praising Cortés alone and failing to state the deeds of the other captains and soldiers, he did so because "his palms were greased,"¹⁶ because they paid him for it. Gómara's information is false; but the falsifier is Cortés. "And what he writes is mere nonsense. As I understand it the fault is not his, but that of the man who gave him the information."¹⁷

According to Bernal, Cortés sins as much by adulterating the truth as Gómara does by undertaking the relation of something he has not seen. Typical features of every war are the scorn of the combatants for the persons in the rear guard, and their indignation because people talk about military events without having taken part in them. Bernal, who felt all the pride of a soldier, rebukes Gómara continually on this account. The "Let us drop this subject then, which Gómara says he knows about because 'they told him so,' " the "he was not well informed,"¹⁸ contrast strongly with the precision of his own recollections: "Now that I am writing about it, it all

¹⁴ Ch. CCX, Vol. V, pp. 274-275.

¹⁵ Ch. CCX, Vol. V, p. 276.

¹⁷ Ch. CXLI, Vol. IV, p. 42.

¹⁶ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 68.

¹⁸ Ch. XLI, Vol. I, p. 150.

comes before my eyes as though it had happened but yesterday."¹⁹ A licentiate "who was very eloquent and had a very good opinion of himself,"²⁰ to whom Bernal showed his manuscript, reproached him for speaking too much about himself. Bernal answers that the only one who can speak about war is the person who has been in it; "but for one who is not present in a war, and does not see it or understand it, how is he able to do it? Are the clouds to utter praise or the birds that flew over us when we were fighting our battles? Only the Captains and soldiers who were present (could do so)."²¹

This is directed against Gómara, who, to make Bernal's despair the greater, possessed a style which added much to the attractiveness of his narration. Bernal pretends to attach no importance to this, but in his heart he feels otherwise. "Whoever sees Gómara's history will believe it to be true, as it is expressed with such eloquence, although it is quite the reverse of what really took place."²² "And let him (the reader) ignore eloquence and ornate language which is evidently pleasanter than my coarse (manner)."²³ That this modesty on Bernal's part was false, and that literary elegance did not mean so little to him as he pretended, is seen in the conversation with the licentiates, to which reference has been made, for these men made the remark about his manuscript that "it followed the customary speech of Old Castile, and that in these times it is accounted the more agreeable because there are no elaborate arguments nor gilded elegance such as some writers are wont (to display), but all is in plain simple language, and that all really good narration is comprised in this true statement."²⁴

Gómara has not been in the conquest; Gómara, who possesses literary talent, is, to top misfortunes, a clergyman. Now then, Bernal shares the ideas of Cortés and a certain number of conquerors with regard to the action of clergymen in the Indies. As great as the respect and veneration he feels for the friars is his animosity toward the priests. One need not search far in his book to find sentences like these:

¹⁹ Ch. LXXXVIII, Vol. II, p. 142.

²⁰ Ch. CCXII, Vol. V, p. 286.

²¹ Ch. CCXII, Vol. V, p. 300.

²² Ch. LXXI, Vol. I, p. 263.

²³ Ch. CXXIX, Vol. II, p. 268.

²⁴ Ch. CCXII, Vol. V, pp. 286-287.

I call this story to mind here to show my curious readers, and even the priests who nowadays have charge of administering the holy sacraments and teaching the doctrine to the natives of the country, that because the poor soldier stole two fowls in a friendly town, it nearly cost him his life, so that they can see how one ought to act towards the Indians, and not seize their property.²⁵

And they (the Indians) paid the same attentions to the priests, but after they had seen and known some of these and the covetousness of the rest, and that they committed irregularities in the pueblos, they took no (further) notice of them and did not want them as Curas in their pueblos, but Franciscans and Dominicans. It does not mend matters that the poor Indians say to a prelate that they do not hear him or . . . , but what more there is to be said about this subject had better remain in the inkpot.²⁶

With this amount of phobias against Gómara, one cannot expect the lead of which Bernal spoke to function with precision. In fact the majority of his comments have the nature of simple outbursts. "From beginning to end they did not tell correctly what took place in New Spain";²⁷ it is all "nonsense that has been written about the affairs of New Spain";²⁸ "in all they write, they speak with prejudice, so why should I go on dipping my pen to mention each item separately, it is merely wasting ink and paper, moreover I should say it badly . . .";²⁹ "and if all his writings in other Spanish chronicles are like this, I condemn them as a matter of lies and fables, however good his style may be."³⁰

All this interests us as the key to a state of mind which we cannot ignore if we are to put a true value on the criticisms, strictly speaking, which Bernal makes of Gómara. My article has not the character of an exhaustive comparison, which would be very desirable to make, but which would be out of place here. It merely calls attention to this matter.

What are, in concrete terms, the objections which Bernal

²⁵ Ch. LI, Vol. I, pp. 184-185.

²⁶ Ch. CCIX, Vol. V, p. 267.

²⁷ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 106.

²⁸ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 67.

²⁹ Ch. XVIII, Vol. I, p. 67.

³⁰ Ch. CXXXII, Vol. II, p. 282. (Bernal uses the singular and plural in these sentences because sometimes he refers to Gómara alone and other times to Gómara, Illescas, and Paulo Jovio. For us this alters nothing, since Bernal himself says that Gómara led the other two chroniclers into error. See ch. CXXIX, Vol. II, p. 268.)

makes to Gómara in the relation of events? Frequently, after a careful comparison of the two texts, one discovers there is no justification for the remark with which Bernal customarily concludes his chapters: "This is what happened, and not the account given to Gómara," "here the chronicler Gómara says many things about which they did not inform him correctly," etc. See both authors' accounts of Cortés' preparations for the enterprise, or of the meeting with Jerónimo de Aguilar, or of the interview with Moctezuma's emissaries in San Juan de Ulua.³¹ I candidly confess that I find no essential differences to justify the remarks and observations made by Bernal Díaz. Doubtless, since he had a great feeling for detail and a surprisingly trustworthy memory, he could appreciate small differences which escape our notice. But his comment is always exaggerated. And two episodes I wish to emphasize prove to us that it is impossible to speak of a great exactitude in the management of the lead. Bernal, in his desire to contradict Gómara, not only disagrees with him openly upon the conclusions of fundamentally identical episodes, but makes Gómara say things which appear nowhere in the latter's work. That is what happens when the Spaniards' stay in Cempoala is mentioned. "The historian, Gómara, says that Cortés remained many days in Cempoala and planned a league and rebellion against Montezuma, but he was not correctly informed, because, as I have said, we left Cempoala on the following morning, and where the rebellion was planned and what was the reason for it, I will relate further on."³² Now then, if we consult Gómara's account, we shall see that he says nothing whatsoever about the formation of a league against Moctezuma in Cempoala. What he says is that the Indian chief of Cempoala, "the fat Indian chief," complained to Cortés about the terrible slavery to which they were subject—the same as Bernal says—and that the rebellion and

³¹ For the preparations made by Cortés, see Bernal Díaz, chs. XIX and following; also, Francisco López de Gómara, *Conquista de México*, in the collection *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Vol. XXII, pp. 299-301. For the encounter with Jerónimo de Aguilar, see Bernal Díaz, ch. XXIX, and Gómara, *op. cit.*, p. 303. For the interview in San Juan de Ulúa, see Bernal Díaz, ch. XXXVIII, and Gómara, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

³² Ch. XLV, Vol. I, pp. 166-167.

league against the Aztec monarch were planned later in Quiahuiztlán—as Bernal also says.³³

The same thing occurs in the account of the occupation of Cingapacinga. Bernal states: "This affair of Cingapacinga was the first expedition made by Cortés in New Spain, and it was very successful, and we did not, as the historian Gómara says, kill and capture and destroy thousands of men in this affair at Cingapacinga."³⁴ Let us see what Gómara says, and we shall find that he does not speak of the combat at all, for the simple reason that there was none, since the natives offered no resistance and Moctezuma's force deserted the place. "And Cortés asked," Gómara relates, "that no harm be done the residents, and that the soldiers who were protecting the place be left free, but without arms or banners. It was a new thing for the Indians."³⁵ The story of the slaughter of thousands of Indians is a device which Bernal invents in his frantic desire to discredit Gómara.

So far Bernal's criticisms are unjustified. They have another aspect which merits closer examination—the one referring to what Gómara says about Cortés' action. In this respect, without doubt, Gómara gave free rein to his pen. His book might better have been entitled "Vida de Hernán Cortés" than "Conquista de México." In it there is an exclusive concentration on the Estremenian hero, a constant attribution of every kind of feat to him, which may justify Bernal's indignant exclamation: "Cortés never did or said anything (important) without first asking well considered advice, and acting in concert with us. Although the historian Gómara says Cortés did this and that, and came here and went there, and says many other things without reason, even if Cortés were made of iron, as Gómara in his history says he was, he could not be everywhere at once."³⁶

Let us admit that Bernal was right in this, as he was right in the appreciation of matters of detail: that it was not Cortés

³³ For Cortés in Cempoala, see: Gómara, *op. cit.*, p. 318. For the rebellion and league against Moctezuma, see: Bernal Díaz, ch. XLVII; and Gómara, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

³⁴ Ch. LI, Vol. I, p. 188.

³⁵ Gómara, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

³⁶ Ch. LXVI, Vol. I, pp. 243-244.

who entered the Alvarado River, that it was not Cortés but Alvarado who for the first time penetrated the interior of the country, shortly after the landing of the Spaniards, etc.³⁷ All this is very well, but what we cannot accept is Bernal's continual plural, with the "we agreed," "we ordered," "we did," which reduces Cortés to a mere tool in the hands of his captains.³⁸ "It seems that God gave us soldiers grace and good counsel to advise Cortés how to do all things in the right way." "And let me relate how one and all we put heart into Cortés, and told him that he must get well again and reckon upon us."³⁹ Despite the onesidedness of Gómara's vision in overlooking Cortés' companions, I believe it less distant from the truth than Bernal's vision when he gives us a Cortés subject to the opinions of a clique.

I am sorry I have not more precise information about the organization of the military hierarchy in those times. Of course there did not exist then what we call staffs today, with their specific mission of preparing the decisions of the leaders. But then, as today, and as always, the decision, with or without previous consultation, was an attribute of the leader and not of the subordinate. Bernal contradicts himself on this point since, in sketching for us Cortés' character, he insists that the latter was very obstinate.

He was very obstinate, especially about warlike matters, however much advice and persuasion we might offer to him about imprudent attacks and expeditions which he ordered us to undertake—(such as) when we marched round the great pueblos of the Lakes, or on the rocky hills which they now call the "Peñoles del Marqués," when we told him that we could not climb up to the fortifications and rocky heights, but that we would keep them beleaguered, because of the many boulders which came bounding down hurled at us from the top of the fortress, for it was impossible to protect ourselves from the shock and impetus with which they came, and it was risking all our lives, for valour and counsel and prudence were of no avail; yet still he contended against all of us, and we had to begin to ascend again and were in extreme danger, and eight soldiers were killed, and all

³⁷ Ch. XXXVI, Vol. I, p. 132, and ch. XLIV, Vol. I, p. 161.

³⁸ Ch. XLIV, Vol. I, p. 160.

³⁹ Ch. LXVI, Vol. I, p. 244.

the rest of us injured in the head and wounded, without accomplishing anything worth mentioning until we changed to other plans.⁴⁰

All this is said against Cortés, but it contradicts the statement that the conqueror was carried here and there by the opinions of his captains. Reality must have been exactly the opposite. What happens is that Cortés was so clever and explained his plans to the men in such a manner that the latter came to believe the plans had been their own ideas. The reflection of Orozco y Berra upon speaking about the capture of Moctezuma is correct: "The general had his plans made, but, as usual, he pretended to agree with the opinion of others, so that he might not be alone in responsibility, in case there were any."⁴¹

This is the truth, and Bernal's attempts to disfigure it are vain. At the time of the destruction of the ships, Bernal himself admits that the idea came from Cortés. "As far as I can make out, this matter of destroying the ships which we suggested to Cortés during our conversation, had already been decided on by him, but he wished it to appear as though it came from us, so that if any one should ask him to pay for the ships, he could say that he had acted on our advice and we would all be concerned in their payment."⁴² Then he becomes very indignant because Gómara declares that the conqueror kept his plans in the greatest secrecy possible, and he insinuates that the soldiers knew about it. "It is here that the historian Gómara says that when Cortés ordered the ships to be scuttled that he did not dare to let the soldiers know that he wished to go to Mexico in search of the great Moctezuma. It was not as he states for what sort of Spaniards should we be not to wish to go ahead, but to linger in places where there was neither profit nor fighting?"⁴³

This estimate of the Spaniards' courage and greed is all right; but it is a pity that Bernal contradicts himself once more, since, in mentioning the statements of some soldiers who are anxious for Cortés to renounce the enterprise, he

⁴⁰ Ch. CCIV, Vol. V, pp. 216-217.

⁴¹ Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México*, IV, 309.

⁴² Ch. LVIII, Vol. I, p. 208.

⁴³ Ch. LVIII, Vol. I, pp. 207-208.

makes them say: "And that now the ships which we sunk would have been useful to us, and we might have left at least two of them in case of necessity arising, but without consulting them about this, or about anything else, by advice of those who did not know how to provide for changes of fortune, he (Cortés) had ordered them all to be sunk."⁴⁴

Really this famous impartiality and truthfulness of Bernal's muddle things terribly. If the soldiers had known that the ships were going to be destroyed, why did they complain afterwards that they had not been informed about it? Lying requires a good memory, friend Bernal. You would have done better to limit yourself to saying that Cortés occasionally consulted some of his captains, but without forever insinuating that they and the soldiers are the ones who decide everything, as if Cortés did not exist. Questions of war are not settled by committees and votes as Bernal wishes to indicate in his account of the meeting held in Cholula, when the Spaniards believe themselves in danger of an attack by the natives:

That night Cortés took counsel of us as to what should be done, for he had very able men with him whose advice was worth having, but as in such cases frequently happens, some said that it would be advisable to change our course and go to Huexotzingo, others that we must manage to preserve the peace by every possible means and that it would be better to return to Tlaxcala, others of us gave our opinion that if we allowed such treachery to pass unpunished, wherever we went we should be treated to worse (treachery), and that being there in town, with ample provisions, we ought to make an attack, for the Indians would feel the effect of it more in their own homes than they would in the open, and that we should at once warn the Tlaxcalans so that they might join in it. All thought well of this last advice.⁴⁵

Cortés does not open his mouth. Of course, Bernal lets it be known that it is Cortés who decides in critical moments, as at the junction of the two roads which lead to Mexico City: "Then Cortés said that he wished to go by the blocked up road."⁴⁶ Yet this is the exception. Bernal's Cortés is as colorless as his companions are in Gómara's history, but, if

⁴⁴ Ch. LXIX, Vol. I, p. 252.

⁴⁵ Ch. LXXXIII, Vol. II, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Ch. LXXXVI, Vol. II, p. 30.

there is omission in Gómara's work, there is deformation in Bernal's. As a last example consider the account of Moctezuma's capture. There Bernal tells us who compose Cortés' clique, that clique which is the advisory and executive organ without which the conqueror takes no step. Naturally Bernal forms part of the group. "Four of our captains took Cortés aside in the church, with a dozen soldiers in whom he trusted and confided, and I was one of them."⁴⁷ They, and not Cortés, are the ones who conceive the idea of taking Moctezuma prisoner, who determine even the slightest details concerning the manner in which the daring capture is to be carried out. Cortés—such an irresolute man, of course—doesn't see well how it is going to be possible to seize Moctezuma in the midst of his warriors. "Our Captains replied, (that is Juan Velásquez de León and Diego de Ordás, Gonzalo de Sandoval and Pedro de Alvarado,) that with smooth speeches he should be got out of his halls and brought to our quarters, and should be told that he must remain a prisoner, and if he made a disturbance or cried out, that he would pay for it with his life; that if Cortés did not want to do this at once, he should give them permission to do it, as they were ready for the work."⁴⁸

I do not believe there is a better comment on Bernal's unscrupulousness (which, as we see, is no less marked than Gómara's) than that paragraph from the second letter of Cortés' report in which he refers to the first loss. "And I still remember that, with regard to the question of this lord, I volunteered much more than was in my power, for I guaranteed Your Majesty that I should have taken him prisoner, or killed him, or made him subject to Your Majesty's royal crown."⁴⁹ In other words, the idea of capturing the sovereign was conceived by Cortés the very moment he learned of this person's existence.

Regarding Bernal's statements, it will be enough to grant the existence of a group of captains—the part about the soldiers seems less likely—with whom Cortés took counsel before making any important decisions; but without this group being the axis of the conquest, Cortés' inspiration and fortifier, as

⁴⁷ Ch. XCIII, Vol. II, p. 85.

⁴⁸ Ch. XCIII, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁹ Hernán Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (ed. Gayangos), p. 52.

Bernal tells us. At any rate the criticisms pointed out do not justify the burial of Gómara's book in discredit and oblivion. Bear in mind that Bernal does not refute Gómara's work as a whole, but only in the outburst mentioned. He lets pass without contradiction the essential facts of the conquest: the war of Tlaxcala, the massacre of Cholula, the entrance into Mexico City, the struggle with Narváez, the flight from the capital, the siege and taking of the same, the trips to the Hibueras. And do not tell me it is because Bernal announces his resolution not to mention Gómara again shortly after relating the first entry into Mexico City. "As I am already tired of noting the things in which this historian goes outside of what really happened, I will stop speaking of it."⁵⁰ This is beyond the power of Bernal, who renews his attack on Gómara whenever he finds, or believes he finds, occasion for it. So he does, for example, in his comment on Alvarado's leap: "I assert that at the time not a single soldier stopped to see if he leaped much or little, for we could hardly save our own lives."⁵¹

Before I conclude, I should like to make a remark which I offer for the attention of some patient student. Let the comparison of the texts of Bernal and Gómara be given greater emphasis and perhaps it may be found that the latter lent the former a valuable service, helping him to shape his work, to divide the chapters, etc. It is a mere suggestion which I cannot altogether justify now but I believe that Gómara not only stimulated Bernal but served him as a guide in his account. This alone would be a merit for Gómara, an author who deserves our attention for many reasons. Let Bernal be edited and studied as much as you like—no one can say that more sincerely than I, since I devoted almost four years to an edition of his chronicle which the war in Spain prevented my finishing—but do not let resentment be the motive for the enthusiastic cult of Bernal and the forgetting of Gómara. For the work of the latter, like that of Cortés, may be discussed as much as you wish, but may never be ignored.

Mexico, D. F.

RAMÓN IGLESIA.

⁵⁰ Ch. CII, Vol. II, p. 130.

⁵¹ Ch. CXXVIII, Vol. II, p. 247.

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN VENEZUELA 1835-1865

The principles of American diplomacy which functioned or revealed themselves in Venezuela from the acknowledgment of that republic to the close of the Civil War pertained to the recognition of new governments, the Monroe Doctrine, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, diplomatic immunity and asylum, expatriation and naturalization, Pan-Americanism, commerce, neutral rights, and the protection of life and property of citizens abroad.

I

The secession of Venezuela from *La Gran Colombia* in 1829 and the inauguration of a constitution the following year was a unique instance of self-determination. Faced with the problem of recognizing this new nation which had withdrawn peacefully from the first of South America's republics, the United States was reluctant to act. Pressure from commercial interests, the demands of claimants for pecuniary damages, and conclusive information as to the permanency of the separation finally led President Andrew Jackson to open diplomatic relations with the Caracas government in 1835.

The action was in keeping with Jefferson's procedure of dealing with *de facto* governments. A variation from this policy resulted from the advent of a dictator in 1861. From 1830 to 1848 the administration of Venezuelan affairs was in the hands of the Conservative party; the Liberal party then took control for a decade. Directed by the most able men of the country, these two political groups attempted to adapt democratic institutions to a people who were ill prepared by training and tradition for self-government. A coalition of disgruntled Liberals and Conservatives joined together to overthrow José Tadeo Monagas, leader of the Liberals, in 1858. A five-year struggle for power known as the War of the Federation ensued. Coalition management gave way to

Conservative leadership, which succumbed in 1861 to the dictatorship of José Antonio Páez, one of the founders and early defenders of the constitution.

The rule of a dictator was viewed with questioning eyes by Henry T. Blow, an American minister who went to Caracas fresh from the battlefields on which he had helped preserve the allegiance of Missouri to the Union. Declining to follow the advice and example of his predecessor, he decided not to present his credentials to the Páez dictatorship without further instructions from Secretary of State William Seward. Such a course, he realized, was contrary to former usage and custom. In his opinion it was justified because the new government had never been sanctioned by the people and had been established through deceitful and unlawful procedure. To him it was preposterous that the United States should recognize or continue diplomatic relations with such an administration.¹

Seward approved Blow's course, stating that he considered the restraint of the minister to be discreet. Thenceforth the Secretary held to the opinion that a revolutionary government in South America must be accepted by the will of the people, in addition to possessing actual control of the country, before recognition should be granted it by the United States.

Disgusted with his inability to be of service in Caracas, Blow soon returned home. The next minister, Erastus Dean Culver, used his discretion in recognizing the dictatorship a few weeks after arriving in Venezuela. That action was disavowed and annulled by Seward as soon as he received notice of it. The Secretary maintained that it was the duty of the United States to discourage the unquiet and revolutionary spirit so prevalent in South America by standing aloof until a state could unmistakably prove that the government which

¹ Blow to Seward, No. 1, Nov. 22, 1861, Despatches, Venezuela, Volume V, Department of State, National Archive. Blow's success in business, politics, and philanthropy characterized him as one of the leading citizens of St. Louis, and his courageous sincerity in Venezuela places him among the early founders of constitutionalism. "He never sought office, and when he accepted a trust the sense of responsibility incurred was greater than the sense of honor received; for him politics was a field of public usefulness and not of private gain" (*National Cyclopædia of American Biography*, IV, 291).

claimed to represent it was fully accepted and peacefully maintained by its people.²

Venezuelan officials were constrained to offer Culver his passports, as a vindication of their dignity, after the withdrawal of recognition was publicized. Personally they wanted him to stay, as it was evident that the course of the Civil War made Seward's action expedient. By common consent he did remain, and after the dictatorship fell and a federal constitution similar to that of the United States was accepted in 1864, he was instructed to present his credentials to the new authorities.

II

Hope that the Monroe Doctrine might be a bulwark against European aggression first appeared in Venezuela with regard to the Guiana boundary dispute. The stone markers set up in 1840 by Robert H. Schomburgk to show the limits of British Guiana caused a cry of alarm to rise from the Venezuelans.³ The line thus established was characterized as being capricious, arbitrary, and designed to secure leagues of Venezuelan territory as well as control of the mouth of the Orinoco River.

Alejandro Fortique, Venezuelan minister in London, was instructed to settle the boundary by treaty. As a result Great Britain removed the Schomburgk markers and was willing to grant Venezuela much of the disputed territory if that country would guarantee never to alienate the mouth of the Orinoco to any other nation. Agreement seemed certain, as Venezuela favored acceptance of the condition in exchange for a reciprocal guarantee of Venezuelan sovereignty over the same area, when Fortique died. The lapse of negotiations, due to political difficulties in Venezuela, was unfortunate be-

² Seward to Culver, No. 12, Nov. 19, 1862, Instructions, Venezuela, Volume I, Department of State, National Archive. For the application of this policy in other countries see J. Fred Rippy, "The Right of Revolution in Latin America," *Current History*, XXXIV, 14 (April, 1931). Inconsistencies of the *de facto* recognition policy of the United States in this and other instances are described in Rafael F. Seijas, *El derecho internacional hispano-americano* (6 vols., Caracas, 1884), II, 279 *et seq.*

³ Francisco González Guinán, *Historia contemporánea de Venezuela* (19 vols., Caracas, 1909-1911), III, 247. *El Liberal* (Caracas), Nov. 7, 1841.

cause the settlement proposed was more advantageous than that received under arbitration half a century later.

New speculations and fears were aroused by a Foreign Office circular dated January 15, 1848, which announced that it was a matter of discretion with the British government whether the collection of interest on foreign bonds held by its citizens should be made a matter of diplomatic negotiation. As subjects of Great Britain owned most of Venezuela's defaulted bonds, United States chargé d'affaires Benjamin G. Shields was asked if the United States would permit England to take possession of Venezuelan territory, ports, or custom houses as satisfaction for the debt.⁴ It was suggested to him that President Polk might buy up Venezuelan bonds at the depreciated market price in order to extract the country from the paws of the English lion.

To allay these forebodings the British chargé d'affaires published official correspondence to show that England would not accept possession or a protectorate over Venezuelan Guiana in any circumstances.⁵ Each country then agreed to declare that it had no intention of usurping or occupying Guiana territory of which the ownership was disputed.⁶ During the first half of the nineteenth century the Department of State in Washington found no cause for alarm in this dispute, although apprehension of English aggression was a common ground of interest between United States chargés in Caracas and Venezuelan officials.

The war between the United States and Mexico apparently did not augment the misgivings expressed by some Venezuelans that the Monroe Doctrine might permit the United States to acquire the territory forbidden to European nations. Sympathy for Mexico was expressed, but the struggle for political power between the Liberals and the Conservatives and the fact that the United States did not levy a tariff on

⁴ Shields to Buchanan, No. 69, Sept. 21, 1848, Despatches, Venezuela, VI.

⁵ *Gaceta de Venezuela* (official government gazette, hereafter cited as *Gaceta*), April 7, 1850.

⁶ *Memoria de relaciones exteriores* (annual report of the Secretary of Foreign Relations to the Venezuelan Congress), 1851, p. 19.

Venezuelan coffee seem to have minimized criticism of the *gringos*.⁷

President Zachary Taylor's message to Congress on December 4, 1849, was interpreted in Venezuela as being an assumption of hegemony over the western hemisphere. In referring to the proposed railroad across the Isthmus of Panama and the treaty with Colombia which guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus and Colombian sovereignty over it, he stated that the United States was the natural ally and friend of the other American states. He suggested that his government might mediate in their behalf in case of a collision between one of them and any European nation if it could do so without entangling itself in foreign wars or unnecessary controversies.⁸ In the Venezuelan Congress a resolution was introduced to the effect that a treaty be negotiated with the United States whereby the latter would agree to serve as an arbiter or friendly mediator in behalf of Venezuela in reclamations and international complaints if solicited by the executive power and in case of internal or external aggression lend the necessary aid to preserve the republican form of government if requested by the constitutional authorities.⁹

It was not clear what the Venezuelans wanted. In Caracas Chargé I. Nevette Steele inferred from a conversation with the Minister of War and Marine that Venezuela wanted an alliance guaranteeing her territorial integrity. In Washington the Venezuelan chargé inquired as to the basis on which the United States would negotiate a new treaty. The Secretary of State answered that the settlement of the claims of American citizens would be a prerequisite.¹⁰ Although two conventions subsequently settled a number of claims, when the new treaty was made it contained no alliance.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1847, p. 8; 1848, p. 5. *El Liberal*, Jan. 30, 1847.

⁸ J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, 1908), V, 14.

⁹ *Diario de Debates* (official record of the Venezuelan Congress, Caracas), Feb. 24, 1850.

¹⁰ Lucio Pulido to Daniel Webster, Oct. 21, 1851, Notes from Venezuelan Agents, Vol. I; Webster to Pulido, Nov. 4, 1851, Notes to Venezuelan Agents, Vol. I, Department of State, National Archive.

On the contrary the United States failed to support Venezuela in five "collisions" it had with European powers. The first of these was in 1850 over an *espera* or stay law which permitted legal moratoriums on mortgages, loans, and debts, thus threatening foreign creditors with heavy losses. Great Britain sent a naval squadron to La Guaira and forced the Venezuelan government to assume responsibility for the debtors' obligations. Other nations, including the United States, came in like cock-boats after the British man-of-war and had no difficulty in settling their *espera* claims.¹¹ American citizens often lamented that British claimants were given better treatment by the Venezuelan government than other aliens, and the American diplomatic representatives were prone to point out the active agent who settled English claims was Great Britain's fleet.¹²

Holland, in 1856, sent a fleet to La Guaira which delivered an ultimatum. Demands for settling the question of sovereignty over Aves Island and for immediate payment of damages done to Dutch traders at Coro in an anti-Semite movement were made.¹³ Venezuela appealed to the Diplomatic Corps in Caracas to intervene to prevent war, and the efforts of that body, put in form of a protocol, were successful. The Netherlands had informed the United States of the measures to be taken and had requested that the American minister in Caracas assist in a peaceful solution. When that representative signed the protocol denying the need of an ultimatum and recommending that a Venezuelan minister plenipotentiary be sent to The Hague to effect a settlement, the Secretary of State sent a note, somewhat apologetic in tone, to the Nether-

¹¹ The British *espera* claims were admitted and paid before those of United States subjects were presented. France and Holland likewise threatened the use of force, but Uncle Sam's minister was instructed only to demand treatment equal to that given other foreigners (Steele to Clayton, No. 5, April 22, 1850, Despatches, Venezuela, VIII; Clayton to Steele, No. 4, May 17, 1850, Instructions, Venezuela, I).

¹² For an example see Dubs to Marcy, April 7, 1853, with enclosures, Consular Letters, Maracaibo, III.

¹³ Karel Hendrik Corporaal, *De internationale abbrechtelijke betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Venezuela, 1816-1920* (Leiden, 1920), pp. 168-190.

lands stating he would regret to learn that the course followed had not been satisfactory.¹⁴

A joint action of the diplomatic agents in 1858 had a less auspicious ending. President José Tadeo Monagas desired to resign and avert a revolution, provided that the members of the diplomatic body would protect him and his family from the fury of his enemies. The diplomats consented to raise their respective flags over the French legation and give him asylum there until he could leave the country. Subsequent events led to an understanding with the incoming officials. Under its terms Monagas voluntarily left the legation and was taken into custody by the new authorities who guaranteed him a safe and speedy departure. After a few weeks the French and British *chargés d'affaires* demanded the fulfillment of the agreement.

Unpleasant incidents followed—among them the burning in effigy of the British *chargé d'affaires*—and eventually the commanders of the French and British warships at La Guaira delivered an ultimatum regarding freedom for Monagas and the payment of pecuniary claims.¹⁵ The Venezuelans felt that the ultimatum had not been authorized by the home governments, and the warships did leave the harbor. The severance of diplomatic relations by the offended *chargés* (due to alleged violation of their legations and other insults), the return of a larger number of war vessels, and another ultimatum demanding a satisfactory answer in three days, preceded a two weeks' blockade of the ports of La Guaira and Puerto Cabello by the British and French squadrons. The Venezuelan naval vessels were seized and one was sunk. A new British *chargé d'affaires* arrived in Caracas and ended the blockade by a compromise. The settlement was considered by the American minister in Caracas to be a just and successful

¹⁴ Marcy to H. C. du Bois, June 13, 1856, Notes to the Netherlands, VI. J. B. Moore, *A Digest of International Law* (8 vols., Washington, 1906), II, 843.

¹⁵ *Manifiesto de los encargados de Francia y la Gran Bretaña* (Caracas, 1858). *Cuestión promovida a Venezuela por los agentes de Francia y la Gran Bretaña* (Caracas, 1858). *Facts Speak for Themselves, or Documents Relating to the Proceedings Which Have Recently Taken Place between the Representatives of Great Britain and France and the Government of Venezuela* (London, 1858).

resistance by Venezuela of European intervention. The resistance had been single-handed.

The next year after the blockade, an attempt of the French chargé d'affaires to smuggle a revolutionist out of Caracas by means of a diplomatic passport was exposed. The chargé was given peremptory orders to leave the country. The facts of the case were given to Minister Edward A. Turpin with the request that the Department of State in Washington forward them to its agent in Paris. Secretary of State Lewis Cass concluded that Venezuela preferred to offer explanations to France through the United States minister. Because this would be a departure from the policy of non-intervention in the concerns of other nations, Turpin was instructed to express his government's appreciation of the confidence indicated and its earnest and sincere interest in the peace and prosperity of Venezuela but to convince the Secretary of Foreign Relations that a direct explanation would be more acceptable to the French Emperor.¹⁶

A direct appeal for help was made in 1860. When Eduardo Romero, Spanish chargé d'affaires, was unable to protect the lives and property of his fellow countrymen during the early years of the War of the Federation, he finally resorted to an ultimatum. Not receiving a satisfactory answer in twenty-four hours, he severed diplomatic relations and went on board a Spanish warship at La Guaira to await a squadron. An envoy previously had been sent by Venezuela to Madrid to adjust the difficulty, and after the rupture José Antonio Páez was despatched to Washington to solicit United States' mediation with Spain. President Buchanan was formally requested by this plenipotentiary to interpose his good offices with the Madrid cabinet in order to prevent a conflict. Secretary of State Cass replied that if the President unofficially could effect a reconciliation he would do so gladly. The American minister in Madrid was then instructed that he might, at his discretion, proffer the good offices of the United States to Spain if no offence would be given thereby. This procedure proved to be circumspect as Spain was willing

¹⁶ Turpin to Cass, No. 19, Sept. 24, 1859, Despatches, Venezuela, XII. Cass to Turpin, No. 21, Nov. 5, 1859, Instructions, Venezuela, I.

to restore harmony through direct negotiation and resented the mission of Páez. A modern Venezuelan historian critically comments that the voice of Cass in 1860 resembled in no way that thundering and provocative voice which the secretaries of state of Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt raised to Europe years later.¹⁷

Venezuela, however, continued to regard the United States as a protector of democratic principles and institutions. During the Civil War period when Spain intervened in Santo Domingo and threatened Peru and when French troops established a monarchy in Mexico, Venezuelan officials looked to the United States for leadership. It was realized that the Monroe Doctrine, temporarily in eclipse,¹⁸ had been something of a shield for Hispanic-American republics.

III

The doctrine of nonintervention in the domestic affairs of other nations has been difficult to follow in the Caribbean area.

The first refusal of the United States to interfere in the internal affairs of Venezuela occurred in the troublous times initiated early in 1848. President José Tadeo Monagas, who had been elected through the influence of certain Conservatives, assumed leadership of the Liberal party and thus intensified the bitter feeling already existing between the two groups. An attempt by Congress, a majority of whose members were Conservatives, to impeach the President caused a mob to attack the lower house on January 24. Some of the congressmen with their families sought refuge in the legations of foreign representatives, a not unusual procedure in the annals of South American history.

Chargé B. G. Shields, who sympathized with the Conservatives, extended diplomatic asylum to several and sent a messenger by chartered boat to ask for United States naval vessels to protect American interests during the crisis.¹⁹ Shocked by the government's coercion of the minority party

¹⁷ Ángel César Rivas, *Ensayos de historia, política, y diplomática* (Madrid, n.d.), p. 316.

¹⁸ *El Federalista*, Oct. 24, 1864.

¹⁹ Shields to Buchanan, No. 48, January 29, 1848, Despatches, Venezuela, IV. The letters, though lengthy and somewhat oratorical, and enclosures which followed give a detailed and illuminating account of the 1848 revolution.

in congress, he later requested special instructions relative to helping oppressed statesmen escape from the capital. It was his desire that the United States should intervene to save Venezuela for democracy.

The Department of State did not concur. Admitting that asylum for the weak and helpless in times of peril was permissible, Buchanan urged the chargé to be cautious. He was referred to authorities on international law for guidance and was instructed to be absolutely neutral in the civil strife. The warship which was sent to La Guaira found nothing to do on its arrival, and the capital refused to furnish transportation for some of Shields's friends. Vespasian Ellis, a former chargé d'affaires of the United States to Venezuela, attempted to sell a steamboat to the Conservative forces and was most indignant when it was seized and sold for trying to run a blockade. The insurgents in the city of Maracaibo appealed to the Secretary of State in the name of humanity and civilization to intervene, but to no avail.

José Antonio Páez had instigated the rebellion. After he was defeated he sought exile in New York City where he was honored as a hero of South American independence.²⁰ The Venezuelan government deemed it necessary to send Fortunato Corvaía in 1850, Lucio Pulido in 1851, and Ramón Azpurúa in 1854 to the United States to prevent Páez and his fellow exiles from launching military expeditions against the *patria*. They were the first diplomatic agents to represent the Republic of Venezuela in the United States. These chargés were assured that the American neutrality laws would be strictly enforced with regard to Venezuelan refugees.

The spectre of an invasion was ever before the Monagas administrations. Items appeared in New York newspapers in 1853 and 1854 stating that vessels were being armed in the United States to attack the legitimate government of Venezuela. A steamer and two sail vessels from New York with guns and munitions destined to aid Venezuelan revolutionists were reported to have stopped at St. Thomas. A rumor in 1856 alleged that a Cuban agent in New York by the name

²⁰ *New York Herald*, July 29, July 30, August 3, 1850. *Diario de Avisos* (Caracas), Sept. 6, 1850.

of Domingo Goicuria was planning to enlist an army of filibusters, who had been ready to join William Walker in Nicaragua, for an invasion of Venezuela.²¹

Two steamers were accused of violating American neutrality laws during the War of the Federation. In 1860 the *City of Norfolk* was reported to be headed for St. Thomas with war supplies enroute to Venezuela, and a request was made that it be stopped; as a violation of the law had not been committed, nothing was done.

The charges that neutrality laws had been broken in 1863 by the *Thomas Swain* seem to have been better founded. Minister Culver's opinion was that the vessel had been sent from New York for the purpose of being sold. Since an opportunity to sell it to the Confederate States had not developed, it was taken to Puerto Cabello. The insurgents there, who did not possess the purchase price, chartered it to go to Ciudad Bolívar. Loaded with provisions, munitions, and soldiers, the ship made a trip to the east coast of Venezuela, and depredations were committed by its passengers along the way. After discharging the cargo the *Thomas Swain* returned to Puerto Cabello, and thence to New York. Culver thought it should be detained. With the establishment of peace, the Venezuelan government did not coöperate in securing evidence to substantiate the above account, and the matter was dropped.

The sincerity of the United States in its desire to refrain from intervening in the domestic affairs of its neighbors appears to have been unquestioned in Venezuela.

IV

A section granting immunities for diplomatic agents equal to those of the most favored nation was included in the Treaty of 1836. An article in the Venezuelan constitution gave jurisdiction over cases concerning plenipotentiaries and ministers to the Supreme Court of the republic. When a summons was served on Chargé Williamson to appear before that court with regard to rental of a house, there were repercussions. An apology was sent him by the Secretary of Foreign Relations

²¹ Jacinto Gutiérrez to the Secretary of State, Jan. 17, 1857, Notes from Venezuela, I. *Memoria de relaciones exteriores*, 1857, p. 10.

for the action taken, and Congress passed a law voiding all legal acts and forms against a minister or members of his household.²²

The political upheaval of 1848 was followed by several violations of diplomatic immunity. To stop seditious correspondence with political refugees an old law permitting the opening of mail for legal examination was revived. On March 8, ship captains in La Guaira were instructed to turn in to the government all letters addressed to certain ports. Among those opened, read, and returned to the senders was a letter from the United States consul at La Guaira sealed with the Great Eagle of his office. A despatch from the American chargé d'affaires in Caracas which had been enclosed for forwarding had not been opened. The Secretary of Foreign Relations later issued regulations whereby consuls and diplomatic agents could vouch for the fact that no correspondence of any character between political refugees abroad and Venezuelans at home was being transmitted under their seals.

A joint note in which members of the Diplomatic Corps protested against the violation of diplomatic immunity regarding mail caused the obnoxious rule to be rescinded. Several months later the consul at Curaçao inquired of Shields regarding safety of letters bearing the consular seal. The latter answered that they were as safe as any under the circumstances, but suggested that it would be prudent to avoid sending any correspondence of a political nature except to the legation. Though strict neutrality was enjoined, several letters of a "private family character" were sent by the chargé to be delivered by the consul to the persons addressed.

The next year Shields alleged that a group of soldiers violated the grounds of the American legation and took a letter written by one of his guests from a servant who was leaving the house. The Caracas government explained that no violation of the legation was intended and that the guest was a conspirator, both of which assertions the chargé denied. A little later, a letter complaining of Shields's unfriendly conduct was sent to Washington by a Secretary of Foreign

²² *El Liberal*, Aug. 18, 1840. *Gaceta*, May 30, 1841.

Relations who nineteen months earlier had found shelter under the chargé's roof.

Owing to the frequent civil commotions and to the constant stream of speculations regarding them, diplomatic agents sometimes appeared overzealous in protecting their privileges. In 1852, when it was reported that the government planned to enter the house of the consul general from Holland, the Diplomatic Corps drew up a note expressing fear that diplomatic immunity was to be violated. Chargé Steele at first refused to sign it but did so when the news spread that soldiers were about to enter the Spanish legation located in a hotel. He regretted doing so when he learned that the soldiers, on discovering that the rooms constituted a legation, would not enter.

The difficulties arising from the diplomatic asylum granted to President Monagas in 1858 have been described. The agreement under which Monagas surrendered himself to the government was interpreted by the French and British chargés as being a convention between the government of Venezuela and the members of the diplomatic corps.²³ To enforce it France and Great Britain resorted to a blockade of two Venezuelan ports. Venezuela, however, maintained that the document was a covenant made with Monagas and that the signatures of the diplomatic agents merely signified that they were witnesses to it.²⁴ This interpretation relieved the American minister of the odium of interfering in the domestic affairs of the country. It was willingly accepted by all signers except the French and British.

The *New York Herald*²⁵ condemned Minister Eames for accepting the Venezuelan view. It pointed out that according to strict international law no legation had the right to shield criminals or fugitives from justice, but in South America the constant recurrence of political revolutions had made customary the extension of ambassadorial protection over the personnel of the falling government. The article stated that the

²³ Richard Bingham to the Governor of Jamaica, March 30, 1858, Great Britain Foreign Office, 80, Venezuela, Vol. 128.

²⁴ Eames to Cass, No. 53, May 6, 1858, Despatches, Venezuela, XI.

²⁵ Sept. 1, 1858.

incident was somewhat different in that a solemn agreement between the government and the diplomatic agents had been repudiated. Regret was expressed that the United States representative had been so weak as to accept a personal and national discourtesy which England and France had wisely refused to permit.

The United States government, despite such criticism, did not choose to use aggressive diplomacy in Venezuelan affairs until the twentieth century.

V

The right of naturalization was advanced by the United States soon after it won its independence, although the legality of expatriation was not admitted by Congress until 1868. During these years questions relative to the nationality of children born in Venezuela of American parents and the status of Venezuelans who had become naturalized citizens of the United States and then returned to their native land frequently arose.

In 1848 *Chargé d'Affaires* Shields secured the release from compulsory naval service of a minor son, born in Venezuela, of an American citizen. He had refused protection to the widow of Consul Franklin Litchfield because she was a Venezuelan, but had upheld the rights of Litchfield's daughter who had married a Prussian and had been left a widow.

One of the problems of *Chargé Steele* was that of a doctor living in Maracaibo. Educated and naturalized in the United States, he had no intention of returning to the country of his adoption. Was he, a naturalized citizen of the United States, to be forced to pay "loans" and assume other obligations of a native of Venezuela? His plea was that he had been born in Maracaibo in 1812 when that city had been a part of Colombia, and that his presence in the United States at the time Colombia split into three sections permitted him to owe allegiance to Venezuela only by choice or manifestation. Previously he had paid a small forced loan to avoid trouble, and local officials insisted that his Venezuelan birth made him liable for all obligations of citizenship.

A wider aspect of the question was that since foreigners received better treatment at the hands of the government than did natives, some Venezuelans (who could not have been in the United States) acquired naturalization papers with the sole idea of claiming United States protection. Fraud of this nature was difficult to prove and Steele discouraged it by refusing assistance in times of internal disorder to people who had returned to their native land to live, after having become naturalized citizens of the United States.²⁶

The constitution of 1858 made all children born in Venezuela citizens of the country. The dispute relative to compulsory service in the army of Alejandro d'Empaire, son of a French father and Venezuelan mother, brought forth the interpretation that on becoming of age, such children should adopt the nationality of the father or become Venezuelan citizens.²⁷ An American who had married in Venezuela and raised a family there, in order to secure exemption from military service for his grown sons, requested of Minister Turpin certificates of citizenship for them in accordance with the United States law of 1855.

Rafael Nones, son of a Venezuelan mother and an American father, served in the militia at one time but was jailed later for refusing to be conscripted. An extended correspondence on the part of the United States consul at Maracaibo secured his release. The Department of Foreign Relations had announced that if a resident of Venezuela wanted to evade certain responsibilities by claiming doubtful nationality, such an individual was to appear before the first civil authority of his place of residence with documentary evidence relative to his birth and that of his parents, and if no motive for contradiction was found, he should be recognized as a foreigner.

This policy was repudiated by the Federalist party in 1863. Minister Culver requested release from the army for Thomas Idler who held a certificate of American citizenship, his father being an American and his mother a Venezuelan.

²⁶ Steele to Marcy, No. 54, Sept. 14, 1853, Despatches, Venezuela, IX.

²⁷ *Memoria de relaciones exteriores*, 1861, p. 18.

It was refused because Idler was twenty-two, and according to the constitution a citizen of Venezuela. The United States, it was explained, made children born within its territory citizens, and could not but recognize the right of Venezuela to do the same.

Doctor Antonio M. Sotildo was another Venezuelan who had become a naturalized citizen of the United States and later returned to his native land. He was imprisoned for taking part in the Puerto Cabello insurrection in 1863. The Secretary of Foreign Relations rejected Culver's plea for the doctor's freedom, deeming inadmissible the intervention in behalf of a Venezuelan citizen. Justification for refusal was based on the doctrine laid down by Wheaton that when a naturalized citizen of the United States returned to his native land, he reassumed his original national character. Daniel Webster, Lord Palmerston, and the Spanish law were quoted as substantiating authorities. Culver recalled the Cass doctrine that a naturalized citizen of the United States who returned to the land of his birth went as an American citizen and in no other character. He asked instructions from Washington, as he felt that Sotildo, who was a friend of the Union cause, had been mistreated and needed help.²⁸ None were forthcoming, though Seward did manifest an interest in the case later. With the normal release of Sotildo, the matter was dropped.

VI

In the movement for Pan-American solidarity, Venezuela was friendly to the United States more often than it was hostile.

A Caracas newspaper in 1836 predicted that Texas would join the United States and that Mexico would not continue cordial relations with its northern neighbor.²⁹ Realizing the need of strengthening its position, Mexico became a leader in the movement to call a meeting of the Spanish American states at Lima, Peru, in 1842. The proposed conference was

²⁸ Culver to Seward, No. 83, Sept. 17, 1864; No. 98, Jan. 18, 1865, Despatches, Venezuela, XIV. Seijas, *op. cit.*, IV, 492 *et seq.*

²⁹ *El Liberal*, Oct. 11, 1836.

to form a union for defense, and the United States was not to be invited. A Mexican plenipotentiary was sent to Caracas to promote the plan. Articles in the Caracas press suggested that a contest between the English and the Spanish for dominion over the American continent was inevitable. The thought was advanced that Mexico should be looked upon by the other Spanish American states as their outermost bulwark of defense against the rapacious encroachments of the Anglo-American race. To these ideas Venezuelan officials were cool, and they made no plans to attend the meeting.³⁰ When a Pan-American conference did meet at Lima in 1847, dissensions at home prevented Venezuela from taking any part.

The desire to strengthen the bonds between Latin-American republics developed greatly under the Liberals. In 1856, Venezuela's diplomatic agent to the United States was a leader in drawing up a Treaty of Alliance and Confederation which was signed in Washington by the representatives of seven Spanish speaking nations.³¹ The Venezuela Congress of 1860 declined to ratify the alliance: the possibility of becoming involved in a foreign war appeared too dangerous.³²

The French invasion of Mexico caused the new Federation government in Venezuela to propose an understanding with the United States in regard to defending the independence of the nations of the New World. Blas Bruzual discussed with Secretary of State Seward another conference to be held in Lima by the Pan-American states to consider defense of their independence and integrity against foreign attack. He suggested that the United States become the central figure in a union of the democracies of the New World; if it could not participate at Lima, the alliance was to be completed any-

³⁰ Hall to Webster, No. 20, Dec. 26, 1842, Despatches, Venezuela, II. F. T. Adlercreutz, *La cartera del Coronel Conde de Adlercreutz* (Paris, 1928), pp. 201, 203.

³¹ *Diario de Debates de Camara de Representantes*, Jan. 26, 1857, Message of the President. *Memoria de relaciones exteriores*, 1860, p. 10. *Ibid.*, 1865, p. 48 *et seq.* An excellent account of the general movement is in G. A. Nueremberger, "The Continental Treaties of 1856: An American Union Exclusive of the United States," *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* (Feb., 1940), XX, 32-55.

³² Turpin to Cass, No. 29, June 13, 1860, Despatches, Venezuela, XII.

way.³³ Seward's opinion was that such a union would be viewed with pleasure and without the slightest apprehension or distrust by his government.

The Treaty of Defensive Alliance and Union, signed by eight nations at Lima on January 23, 1865, was not generally ratified.³⁴ The United States had no part in it and was not to assume leadership in a union of Pan-American republics until the time of James G. Blaine.

VII

Commerce and maritime rights were matters on which Venezuela and the United States were generally in accord. The policy of the latter had been to open foreign ports and encourage trade in periods of peace and to protect the rights of neutrals in times of war.

The Treaty of 1836 between the two countries contained a conditional most-favored-nation clause relative to commerce and nondiscriminatory clauses which guaranteed national treatment for persons and vessels of the other country except in coastal trade. It included the American tradition that free ships make free goods except for contraband of war, with the proviso that in case of a war between one of the signatory nations and a third party a neutral flag was to cover enemy goods only if the third party had accepted the principle. Contraband goods were restricted to the articles of war which were enumerated or classified. Paper blockades were made illegal.³⁵

The high custom duties of Venezuela somewhat hampered the importation of goods from the United States. Efforts of the American diplomatic agents to influence a reduction of the tariffs which seemed to work an injustice on the product of their country appears strange in the light of subsequent history. Instructions were frequently sent them to demon-

³³ Bruzual to Seward, Memorandum of Conference held Dec. 1, 1864, Notes from Venezuela, I.

³⁴ *Tratados públicos y acuerdos internacionales de Venezuela* (edición oficial, Caracas, 1924), I, 287.

³⁵ Hunter Miller, *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington, 1934), IV, 3 et seq. Carlton Savage, *Policy of the United States toward Maritime Commerce in War* (Washington, 1934), I, 43.

strate the inequalities of the system but not to intervene in domestic affairs. They protested and at times appealed to both executive and legislative officials, but without success. On the other hand, Venezuela's offers to enter into a reciprocity treaty were rejected.

Popular opposition to all foreign treaties caused the Liberal party to terminate Venezuela's pact with the United States in 1851.³⁶ A new treaty, negotiated in 1854, contained an article concerning privateers which was unacceptable to Secretary of State Marcy because the provision that a citizen of one country who accepted a letter of marque from the enemy of the other should be considered as a pirate conflicted with the constitutional right of Congress to define piracy.

Adherence to the convention relative to neutral rights drawn up by Russia and the United States was agreed to by Venezuela in 1855. The principles that free ships make free goods and that neutral goods, except contraband of war, on enemy ships should be free from confiscation were proclaimed.³⁷ On its own initiative Venezuela refused to sign the Declaration of Paris of 1856 because of the abolition of privateering.³⁸

A treaty formulated in 1856 was ratified by the United States Senate with one slight change. Another treaty, very similar to the above, was ratified by both countries in 1860. It contained articles relating to freedom of the seas, privateering, effective blockades, enumeration of contraband articles, commercial equality, and extradition.³⁹

A short time before ratifications were exchanged a Confederate warship sought to deposit a prize vessel and its cargo in the harbor of Puerto Cabello. The Confederate commander

³⁶ Shields to Buchanan, No. 69, Sept. 21, 1848, Despatches, Venezuela, VI. The presidential decree of October 4, 1849, by which the treaties with the United States, Denmark, and the Netherlands were terminated, declared that public opinion as well as the interests and necessities of the Republic required the formation of new treaties (*British and Foreign State Papers*, XXXIX, 1081).

³⁷ Eames to Marcy, No. 19, Feb. 23, 1856, Despatches, Venezuela, X.

³⁸ Jacinto Gutiérrez to Leonce Levraud, Sept. 3, 1856, in Rafael Seijas, *Prácticas del Ministerio Venezolano de Relaciones Exteriores* (Madrid, 1891), pp. 84-86.

³⁹ José Gil Fortoul, *Historia constitucional de Venezuela* (Caracas, 1930), III, 305. The stipulations relative to maritime and war-time rights are eulogized.

argued that true neutrality meant admitting the prizes of both belligerents to Venezuelan ports.⁴⁰ The Caracas government put into effect the treaty article which permitted entrance of United States warships and privateers and prohibited free admittance to similar vessels of the Southern States.⁴¹

Being countries with small navies at that time, the United States and Venezuela appear to have had identical interests in the preservation of maritime rights in times of peace and war.

VIII

The claims of United States citizens against Venezuela fall into three groups: those involving acts of oppression, those resulting from injuries sustained during civil strife, and those pertaining to violation of contract.

Under acts of oppression may be classified injustices growing out of administrative and judicial procedures contrary to treaty rights and international law. Alleged violation of the tobacco monopoly law of *La Gran Colombia* caused the seizure of three American ships and the inheritance by Venezuela of the three resultant claims. The administration of custom laws resulted in six claims, and difficulties over port fees and regulations were responsible for three others.

An American with the reputation of being "a most artful and reckless villain" was permitted to prosecute a claim for false imprisonment. In this instance Venezuela eventually paid for jailing a guilty man because the court procedure which convicted him flagrantly violated Venezuelan law.⁴² This was an extraordinary case, but at no time in this period did the United States accept the decisions of Venezuelan courts as definitive when its citizens suffered from a denial of justice.

Seven claims for damages sustained during civil strife were due to seizures by the Colombia navy or privateers during the struggle for independence. Five of these presumably

⁴⁰ Admiral Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War between the States* (Baltimore, 1869), p. 163.

⁴¹ *Memoria de relaciones exteriores*, 1863, p. 51.

⁴² *Claims vs. Venezuela*, 1888, No. 10, *Record of the Proceedings of the United States and Venezuela* (Washington, 1890), p. 361. J. B. Moore, *History and Digest of International Arbitrations* (Washington, 1898), III, 3125.

received only the good offices of American diplomatic agents, as they were based on the confiscation of property of United States citizens who were privateers under the flag of *La Banda Oriental*. Venezuela's refusal to settle four of these privateer claims was vindicated when the United States and Ecuador Claims Commission decided that American citizens violating the neutrality law of their own country by privateering against a friendly government were not entitled to seek official redress for damages suffered while engaging in such activities.⁴³ Chargé Shields believed that the claimants were entitled to protection as a matter of equity.

In four claims where soldiers of the legitimate government were responsible for damage done, restitution was quickly made. In three cases where spoliation was the work of insurgent soldiers the *de jure* government objected to payment. A settlement was made on the basis of equity in one of the three, but Venezuela consistently denied responsibility for the acts of insurrectionary troops.⁴⁴ The American, British, and Spanish diplomatic agents sent a joint note in 1859 to the Venezuelan Secretary of Foreign Relations announcing that indemnification would be claimed for the outrages committed against their respective fellow countrymen by the factions opposing the government. The answer to this communication asserted that according to the Venezuelan law of 1854 no such claim could be made against the legitimate government. The American chargé later admitted that he had erred in the joint protest due to a desire to protect the shipping interests of his countrymen.

Eight claims for violation of contract were presented. Three of these were for supplies delivered to the revolutionary governments of the Independence Era. That of Jacob Idler and his associates was investigated by the United States Congress on several different occasions. Good offices, which theoretically were all that could be offered to offended con-

⁴³ Robert C. Morris, *Report of the United States and Venezuela Claims Commission, 1903* (Washington, 1904), p. 306. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, II, 1398.

⁴⁴ The importance of this principle caused the complete diplomatic correspondence relative to the first claim under it to be published in *Documentos para los anales de Venezuela, segundo período* (Caracas, 1889-1909), IV, 340-422.

tractors by their government, in this case equaled the vigor of official intervention. Chargé Williamson went beyond his instructions, however, when he notified Venezuela that the settlement of the claim was exclusively a matter between the two governments.

The Aves Island claim caused the United States to formulate a definite policy toward derelict and desert islands. Out of it came a law which encouraged explorers for guano by extending temporary American sovereignty over islands on which discoveries were made.⁴⁵

The claim arose out of Venezuela's evicting from Aves Island the Americans who had found a valuable supply of guano on it.⁴⁶ Venezuela maintained that as successor to Spanish sovereignty over the island she had the right to protect it. The United States refused to consider the validity of an immemorial title, based solely on Spanish discovery, to an island six hundred miles north of the Venezuelan coast and sought indemnity for the aggrieved guano discoverers.

A contract given by Venezuela to a different group of Americans to gather guano on all her islands complicated the matter. When the contract was cancelled for alleged non-fulfillment of its terms, the United States minister was excessively energetic in securing restoration of the rights of the contractors. Venezuelan officials were unable to comprehend his protecting a contract in which sovereignty over Aves Island was requisite while he reserved at the same time the right to prosecute a claim which denied that sovereignty.⁴⁷

Another complicating feature was a written "agreement" in which the discoverers acknowledged the sovereignty of Venezuela over the island and received temporary permission to continue exploiting the guano. This *permiso* was in Span-

⁴⁵ *United States Statutes-at-Large*, XI, 119. Under this law Navassa, the first permanent noncontiguous possession of the United States, was acquired (R. F. Nichols, "Navassa: A Forgotten Acquisition," *American Historical Review* [April, 1933], XXXVIII, 505-510).

⁴⁶ Philo S. Shelton, *Venezuelan Outrage upon United States' Citizens and Property* (Derby, Conn., 1855). *Senate Executive Document*, No. 25, 34 Congress, 3 Session, and No. 10, 36 Congress, 2 Session.

⁴⁷ *Memoria de hacienda*, 1856, pp. 72-74. Sanford to Appleton, April 2, 1859, Miscellaneous Letters, Department of State, National Archive.

ish and the company agents who signed it contended later that its contents had been misrepresented to them and that they had no intentions of relinquishing their discovery rights.⁴⁸ Venezuelan naval officers denied that either deceit or duress had been used in formulating the document. Their government considered it an instrument to which the Americans had eagerly affixed their signatures.⁴⁹

A change in political administration was responsible for Venezuela's settling the claim on the basis of friendliness and equity. An arbitration between the Netherlands and Venezuela relative to sovereignty over the same island gave title to the latter while awarding certain fishing rights to the former.⁵⁰

In the matter of foreign claims, Venezuela attempted to protect herself by laws, constitutional restriction of the reclamation rights of aliens, and by inserting the Calvo Clause in its contracts with foreigners. The United States, like other strong powers, held Venezuela accountable for any action falling below the standard of conduct prescribed by European civilization through which the lives or property of the citizens were injured. It did not use force to settle its claims,⁵¹ and in this respect it was more considerate of its sister republic than were European nations.

IX

In general it may be said that the interests of Venezuela and the United States during the early national period were parallel. Geographically separated by the West Indies and the Caribbean Sea, the two countries formed a friendship

⁴⁸ Shelton to Marey, June 20, 1855, Miscellaneous Letters.

⁴⁹ Gutiérrez to Cass, Oct. 31, 1857, Miscellaneous Letters Relating to Gunno, II. Mariano de Briceño, *Memoir Justificatory of the Conduct of the Government of Venezuela on the Isla de Aves Question* (Washington, 1858).

⁵⁰ Rafael Seijas (*Derecho internacional*, IV, 210) interprets the decision as being a vindication of Venezuela's position. A. de Lapradelle and N. Politis ("Affaire de l'île d'Aves," *Recueil des arbitrages internationaux* [2 vols., Paris, 1905], II, 404-421) suggest that it was not in accordance with international law.

⁵¹ On one occasion a naval officer quietly arranged a defaulted payment on the Aves settlement (Acting Rear Admiral Charles Wilkes to the Secretary of Navy, No. 71, June 9, 1863, Navy Department, West India Squadron, Sept. 1862-July 1863).

which was to withstand the diplomatic shocks of succeeding years. There was no significant antagonism between the quest of the North American republic for security and progress and that of its nearest South American neighbor. A variation in the principle of *de facto* recognition which presaged the modern doctrine of constitutionalism occurred when the Lincoln administration declined to countenance the Páez dictatorship. During this thirty-year period, nonintervention in the foreign or domestic affairs of Venezuela was scrupulously observed by authorities in Washington. Five opportunities of assisting the Caracas government in its difficulties with European nations by applying the Monroe Doctrine were rejected. Minor disputes concerning American citizenship were amicably settled. Pan-Americanism made little progress. Some few Venezuelan statesmen distrusted the unilateral policy of the United States, but most of them were desirous of coöperating. This was evidenced in trade relations, despite the tariff controversy, and in the New World conception of freedom of the seas. The collection of American claims was characterized by leniency and by that spirit of good will which permeated the diplomatic relations between the two republics

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BOOK REVIEWS

De encomiendas y propiedad territorial en algunas regiones de la América Española. By SILVIO ZAVALA. (Mexico: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1940. Pp. 86. \$2.50 m/n.)

This monograph is a valuable contribution to the early history of land tenure in colonial Spanish America. The major problem discussed by the author is the relation of the *encomienda* system to ownership in land, but in dealing with this question he also summarizes sources which illustrate forms of early land tenure and the methods by which title to property was acquired subsequent to conquest. Both printed and manuscript materials have been used. The discussion is limited to the Antilles, Mexico, and Guatemala, and the author takes pains to point out that he does not claim general validity for his conclusions as applied to other parts of Spanish America. I have no doubt, however, that the principles of legal tenure discussed in this monograph were applicable to other areas.

The author demonstrates very clearly that the *encomienda* in the areas covered by his study was not a land grant or a form of land tenure. Typical *encomienda* grants, both for the period when the basis of the *encomienda* was service and for the later period when fixed tribute had been substituted for service, are cited to show that such grants do not provide a legal basis for title to land. The thesis is further substantiated by a discussion of actual land holdings by *encomenderos* and other Spaniards. *Encomenderos* were able to hold lands either within or outside the limits of their *encomienda* pueblos, but title was acquired by a *merced* separate from the *título de encomienda*, or by purchase. Likewise, third parties acquired lands within the limits of *encomiendas* held by others in the same manner. All *mercedes*, or grants, of lands specifically stated that such grants should be "*sin perjuicio de terceros*," this phrase including both Indians and Spaniards. By the laws of Burgos, and again at a later date, the Crown tried to formulate a policy intended to force Spaniards who succeeded to an *encomienda* to purchase the private holdings of a former *encomendero* within the limits of the *encomienda* pueblo. The purpose was to prevent conflicts of interest detrimental to the Indians, but in the end this policy was abandoned. Finally, the author shows that the Indians granted in *encomienda* to Span-

iards preserved title to their lands, both lands held in common by the pueblos and those held in individual ownership.

Usurpation by *encomenderos* occurred, but the Indians had redress in the form of judicial action to protect their holdings. In order to counteract the evils of usurpation, the Crown of a *cédula* of 1631 prohibited *encomenderos* from owning *estancias* within the limits of their *encomiendas*, and ordered the sale of those already acquired. The author does not explore the question whether this law was generally applied, because that problem falls outside the chronological limits of his study. It is a problem that deserves detailed study, however, because the creation of large land holdings in the colonial period may have been due, in some cases, to usurpations, forced sale of Indian lands, and other illegal and extra-legal procedures by *encomenderos* at the expense of the pueblos held in *encomienda*.

The author discusses briefly the forms of *señorío* in Spain, and makes interesting observations concerning the character of the *encomiendas* and *señoríos* in America, as compared with Spanish forms. He promises to discuss certain aspects of these questions in greater detail in a future publication. In general, he notes that the Indians of *encomiendas* and *señoríos* in America, as the *solariegos* in Spain, "could not be arbitrarily dispossessed of their communal and private holdings."

One of the most interesting features of this volume is the analysis of certain early Mexican lawsuits over lands. Two are described in detail. The first is a *pleito* between Hernán Cortés and Antonio Serrano de Cardona involving lands within the limits of Cuernavaca which Serrano had acquired when he was *encomendero* of that place. When Cortés was given Cuernavaca as part of the Marquesado del Valle, he tried to take possession of these lands, but Serrano brought suit to defend his title, citing his purchase of the lands from the Indians. The second is a suit between the *fiscal* of the Audiencia of Mexico, in the name of the Indians of Cuernavaca, and Cortés on charges that the latter had collected tribute in excessive amounts and had dispossessed the Indians of certain lands. The author cites these cases to illustrate his thesis, but they also deserve close study because of the information they contain concerning early forms of tenure, the kinds of holdings in Indian hands, the processes by which the forms of pre-conquest tenure were carried over into the Spanish period, the modifications of such tenure, and the attitude of the Spanish officials on such questions.

In this monograph the author has not only demonstrated the fal-

sity of the view that the *encomienda* was a land grant but he has also indicated the nature of the sources and the lines of approach for valid studies of the origins of tenure in the colonial period. It is hoped that writers on agrarian politics and land systems in Mexico and other parts of Spanish America will take note of his conclusions and observations in future works on such subjects.

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Descripción Geográfica de los Reinos de Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya y Nuevo León. By ALONSO DE LA MOTA Y ESCOBAR. (Mexico City: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1940. Pp. 238, 1 map. \$7.00 m/n.)

Editorial Pedro Robredo, which has already published excellent editions of the monumental work of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*, of Fray Diego de Landa's *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, of Nicolás de Lafora's *Relación del Viaje que hizo a los Presidios Internos situados en la Frontera de la América Septentrional pertenecientes al Rey de España*, of Bernal Díaz del Castillo's *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, of Román Zulaica Gárate's *Los Franciscanos y la Imprenta en México en el Siglo XVI*, and of Artemio de Valle-Arizpe's *Historia de la Ciudad de México según los Relatos de sus Cronistas*, has now published the very interesting *Relación Geográfica* of the bishop Alonso de la Mota y Escobar which, written near the opening of the seventeenth century, constitutes our earliest description of the northern two thirds of New Spain.

Even in the first glow of the seventeenth century the diocese of Guadalajara was yet spacious, with vague northern limits which according to some extended to the North Pole but circumscribed in fact by the most northerly villages of New Spain in which Spanish sovereignty had been firmly consolidated.

By the year 1600 the Californias had already been explored; Sonora had been investigated in several directions; the territory of New Mexico had been the scene of many incursions and its colonization had been begun; numerous expeditions had traversed Chihuahua; in the north of Coahuila some frustrate foundations had been recorded; in Nuevo León there remained standing only the rebuilt Monterrey; Tamaulipas and Texas, although already traced out by expeditionaries, still consisted in large part of unknown land. Along the North, the most northerly villages of New Spain indicated the limits of the Bishopric of Guadalajara by a long and wavering line which, leaving the Pacific opposite Culiacán, followed the valleys of

San Bartolomé and Santa Bárbara, Mapimí, Cuencamé, Parras and Saltillo, and ended at Monterrey. In other words, the Diocese of Guadalajara comprehended the great territorial expanses of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Nuevo Reino de León, including also some villages of San Luis Potosí.

Near the close of the sixteenth century the illustrious Alonso de la Mota y Escobar was consecrated Bishop of Guadalajara, and shortly thereafter he devoted himself to visiting all the villages of his diocese, with the object, to be sure, of confirming his parishioners and acquainting himself with their needs but also for the purpose of answering the geographical questionnaire which the Court of Spain had distributed widely among all civil and ecclesiastical authorities in order to know better the geography of the Occidental Indies.

His episcopal visits were effected between 1602 and 1605, and with the data obtained he compiled his *Descripción Geográfica*, which he dedicated to "Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, Marquis of Sarria, Count of Lemos y Andrade, President of all the states of the East and West Indies of the Crown of Castile."

The work presents an excellent view of the northern two thirds of New Spain at the dawn of the seventeenth century, when all the political and social organization of that vast territory was yet embryonic. In a pleasing form, with a penetrating spirit and high elegance in style, the intelligent prelate developed his work in a masterly manner, although in his dedicatory he announces with excessive modesty:

And as introduction to the close style necessarily employed, I defend myself with Pomponius Mela who, speaking of geography, stated that it was an endeavor inadmissible of eloquence and hostile to facundity due to the persistence of unfamiliar names, as well of peoples as of places, as even the very necessity of repeating them causes perplexity and a sound not kind to the ear. But what in it does not please through style does substitute the diversity of novelties presented, such being ever agreeable at first bloom. I shall proceed to describe the district, villages, climate, waters, mountains and valleys of these three kingdoms, and the qualities, conditions, exercises and occupations of the peoples who inhabit them, as, included by the limits of this bishopric, which I unworthily have possessed and imperfectly administered, I have visited all, at least the most numerous of them, and I shall attempt to conform, in so far as possible, to the questionnaire which Your Excellency has sent me. . . .

The interesting manuscript reposed for more than three centuries on the shelves of different libraries. First, in that of the King of Spain. Later, it belonged to the French bibliophile, Augustin Renouard. Thence it passed to the collection of the celebrated Lord Kingsborough, and, finally, to the manuscript series of the British

Museum, where it was faithfully and carefully copied by the Mexican scholar, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso.

Some years were to intervene between the date of arrival in Mexico of the Troncoso copy and that of its publication, in 1930, by the Society of Mexican Bibliophiles, in a very brief private edition of fifty numbered copies.

Undoubtedly a problem offered itself in a first geographical description of the vast territory which extended from the coasts of Colima to the sparse reaches of Chihuahua and from the South Sea strand to the lands of the Nuevo Reino de León. The Bishop himself admits it, writing:

Making a geographical description of any part of the globe has ever been held an arduous, difficult and daring task, as Pliny says, even as to places well traveled and well known, and how much more so in cases of those not reasonably traveled or known, as those of Galicia, Vizcaya, and León. . . . Thus I approach in the exordium of this work, condemning and excusing myself. And so much the more do I feel so for being the first to essay this. . . .

He begins with a description of the episcopal seat, the beautiful Guadalajara, and favors us with a reproduction of it, with its wide, straight streets, all on one level, eleven running north-south and ten east-west, with its royal and municipal buildings, residences, and cathedral, all of adobe, with its five hundred Spanish residents, with its livelihoods, forests, mountains, lakes, rivers, neighboring Indians, fauna and flora.

From Guadalajara radiated all the episcopal itineraries, first, toward the 'shore of the Sea,' to arrive at the port of La Navidad and the Valle de Banderas; then to the "shore between West and North," by Ixcuintla, Acaponeta, Chiametla, Mazatlán, to arrive at Culiacán; the third, to the northern part, to Zacatecas, by three distinct routes: Lagos, Juchipila, and Colotlán.

Leaving Zacatecas, Bishop Mota y Escobar describes three itineraries: that of the East, passing by Mazapil to touch Saltillo and Monterrey and then to double, by Parras, to the missions then existent on Lake Mayrán and on the banks of the Nasas River; that of the West, to attain Durango by way of Fresnillo and Sombrerete; and a third, "trending more northward," which passes through Nieves and Río Grande.

Taking Durango as a point of departure, the bishop followed the route of the Northeast to pass to Cuencamé and arrive at Mapimí; then he took that of the North direct, to arrive at Santa Bárbara and San Bartolomé, and, finally, through Papasquiario to Topia.

The work contains special chapters devoted to Culiacán, to the

provinces of Tagues and Sinaloa, to the discovery of Topia, to the city of Zacatecas, and to the towns of Saltillo, Parras, Llerena, Nombre de Dios, and Durango, with general descriptions of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, and the Nuevo Reino de León, and in addition a memorandum of the Crown estates and encomiendas of the first-named.

Editorial Pedro Robredo has done a great benefit to culture in general and to Mexican geography and history in particular in publishing, in an excellent edition, the interesting *Descripción Geográfica* of Bishop Mota y Escobar, a work which is read with genuine pleasure and which sheds light on many vague or confused points of the earliest organization of the vast territory so faithfully and agreeably portrayed.

VITO ALESSIO ROBLES.

Universidad Nacional de México.

Historia Crítica de la Historiografía Argentina (Desde sus orígenes en el siglo XVI.) By RÓMULO D. CARBIA. (*Biblioteca Humanidades*, editada por la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad de la Plata, Vol. XXII. Buenos Aires, 1939. Pp. xi, 483.)

A treatise with almost the same title was published by Dr. Carbia in 1925 as Volume II of the *Biblioteca Humanidades*. This new edition is considerably enlarged (483 pages as compared with 324 in the first version) and covers much more ground. The earlier work consisted of an Introduction of a dozen pages on historical method, *El problema del conocer histórico* (including a long and excellent bibliographical footnote), and six chapters which gave a critical survey of Argentine historians from the time of Deán Funes to the present. The new volume is divided into two parts, the first entitled *El proceso historiográfico*, containing five chapters, and the second, *Los conjuntos genéricos*, four chapters. The Introduction on method is omitted, although much that it contained is found expressed or by implication in the body of the work; instead a long introductory Prologue explains the relation between the two editions and addresses an *apología* to the writer's possible critics.

Most of the additional material appears in the first three chapters of Part I. The first edition began with Deán Funes (whose *Ensayo* was published in 1816-1817), and followed immediately with José Manuel Estrada and Lucio Fidel López. The second begins with the *Voyage* of Ulrich Schmidel and *La Argentina* by Ruy Díaz de Guzmán. A chapter is devoted to the Jesuit historians, Lozano, Charlevoix, Guevara, etc., and another chapter to writers from the time

of Félix de Azara to the beginning of the Rosas dictatorship. Virtually all of this is new. In Chapter IV we are again on familiar ground. Most of it corresponds to the second chapter of the original edition, *Las escuelas menores*, but largely rewritten, and with emphasis upon the publications of Pedro de Angelis (scarcely referred to in the older volume) and upon the historical labors of the Argentine exiles in Montevideo in the 1840's. The remainder of Chapter IV and all of Chapter V (pp. 128-180) reproduce the contents of Chapter I of the earlier version, but revised and rearranged—here and there an altered word or phrase to change the emphasis or to define more sharply the writer's meaning, sometimes an addition to a catalogue of names, occasionally a sentence or a paragraph added or omitted. The copious and very valuable footnotes remain intact. The general treatment of the theme—the evolution of Argentine historiography—appears on the whole to be somewhat more chronological than in the earlier volume. The inclusion of the more important foreigners who have written about the history of the Rio de la Plata adds considerably to its usefulness.

The four chapters of Part II are a reprint with little change of Chapters III-VI in the earlier version. They deal respectively with *Los cronistas*, *Los ensayistas*, *La historiografía didascálica*, and *El material erudito*.

The reader receives the impression that Dr. Carbia would date the modern historiography of Argentina not from Deán Funes but from the age of Rosas, stemming from the publication of the *Colección de documentos* of Pedro de Angelis (1836). Funes is related to the earlier period of the Jesuit chroniclers, and the other native writers of the period of independence were of little significance. The more important works about the Rio de la Plata at that time were by foreigners, beginning with Wilcocke's *History of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres* (1807), and including the writings of John Mawe, Ferdinand Denis, W. B. Stevenson, John Miller, and Mariano Torrente.

This volume of Dr. Carbia is unique in the bibliography of Latin-American history. For no other country have we a survey so complete, so authoritative, so consonant with the methods and ideals of modern historical science. The second version is a vast improvement over the first. Not only is it more comprehensive, but it reveals the results of fifteen years of mature reflection upon the judgments emitted in the earlier volume. Dr. Carbia has the courage of his convictions. He is entirely frank in his critical evaluations—none of the pollyanna lucubrations which characterize so many of the reviews

in Latin-American historical journals. His own countrymen may not always agree with him, but there are probably very few foreigners sufficiently conversant with the historical literature of Argentina seriously to question his conclusions. The volume is implemented with three indexes, one of persons mentioned, one of works discussed by the author, and a third of books and other publications merely cited.

C. H. HARING.

Harvard University.

South American Primer. By KATHERINE CARR. (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939. Pp. 208. \$1.75.)

Never was eagerness for information about Latin America greater in the United States, and never was zeal to supply that information more widespread. A number of writers are attempting to supply it in terms that can be understood by pupils in the public schools and by citizens with average or less than average education. Miss Carr is one of that number. She deals with South America in broad outlines and simple language.

It is difficult to write accurate history in that fashion. Moreover, it is evident that Miss Carr has not done the careful investigation required to obtain the facts. Yet scholars in the field have failed to write the simple popular history; it may even be doubted whether any but a very few of them are capable of doing so. The pupils in the public schools and the busy average citizen must therefore depend upon such books as Miss Carr's.

Hers is by no means a worthless volume. It is happily illustrated with maps; it is well written and interesting; and the phases of South American history and civilization which it describes are well chosen. On the whole the portrait seems to be a fairly true representation of the original. Even the more scholarly may find it stimulating, and it may incite some of them to greater effort to grasp the fundamentals of Latin America's historical development and present-day civilization. It is to be hoped that one or two will examine this little volume with care, note its merits as well as its defects, and eventually but as speedily as possible publish a more accurate elementary survey of the history of a region of such tremendous importance to the United States. The need for such a volume is so great that its production would be an act of high patriotism.

Some of the viewpoints of Miss Carr need to be corrected and some of her facts are erroneous. A few of the readers of her work will

need no warning; they are capable of taking care of themselves. A word of caution for the rest seems appropriate.

The declaration (p. 1) that the European settlers who occupied what later became the United States were colonists while those who occupied Latin America were adventurers is too sharp a distinction. There were adventurers among both, probably fewer among the settlers of central North America. There were many colonists among both, no doubt fewer among the settlers of Latin America. The first line of demarcation did not give half of modern Brazil to Portugal (p. 2). In fact Miss Carr later contradicts this statement (p. 13). All of the trade between Spain and South America was not carried on through the ports of Panama (p. 16). Cartagena shared at least a small part of it. The viceroys and captains-general of Spanish America were not overthrown by the colonists at the beginning of the independence period because these administrators accepted the rule of Joseph Bonaparte (p. 18). Hardly any of them accepted that rule. All the lower classes of Spain were not bound to the land at the beginning of American colonization (p. 21); the liberation of the serfs was already well under way. Nor is it true, as the author states time and again, that South America is "still a continent of large land-owners and serfs" (p. 21, *passim*). If Miss Carr was consciously using the terms "feudal civilization" and "serfs" in a loose and modern sense she should have made this clear to the reader. And the same is true of her employment of the word "*peon*," for it may be doubted whether peonage in the strict sense of debt servitude is widespread in South America. In many parts of South America there is a shortage of rural labor because the workers have emigrated to the mines and industries. Partly erroneous also is the repeated assertion (p. 23, *passim*) that the extraction of metals and minerals has meant nothing to the masses of South America. This would be the case only if no part of South America's share of the profits was expended on the social services. Miss Carr asserts that this is true, but an examination of recent budgets will raise serious doubts. They indicate considerable expenditures for education and sanitation. Moreover, wages in such enterprises are higher than elsewhere and must therefore tend to stimulate a general rise in the wage level. It may be seriously doubted whether the assertion is true that the masses of South America "cannot vote" (p. 23, *passim*). Frequently the balloting is by no means free, but it is not confined, according to such information as this reviewer possesses, to the landholding aristocracy. Nor is it true that all the revolutions are contests for power

among the landed aristocracy (pp. 25, 33, *passim*), although this may be the case for the majority of such disorders.

This list might be continued at length, but space will permit only two more illustrations which it seems advisable to draw from the section of the work that deals with the foreign relations of South America. The statement that the United States exports more to Latin America than it buys from Latin America (p. 172) reveals an ignorance of trade statistics. Except for a few of the states the reverse is true. The following sentence (p. 191) seems absurd: "We have much more to lose from European aggression in South America than have the South Americans." All the South Americans have to lose is their national independence and such personal liberty as they now possess!

Yet, despite numerous errors and exaggerations, the main contentions of the volume appear sound. These contentions may be summarized thus: Wealth and political and economic power are badly distributed in South America. The political and economic life of the region is controlled by a comparatively small landed aristocracy in league with foreign capitalists, with the native landowner usually controlling the policies of the government, which lacks a deep sense of responsibility for the welfare of the masses. Through import duties and taxes on the extractive and manufacturing industries the major part of the fiscal burdens are shifted from the landed group. Most of the revenues are spent for the salaries of the governing class and the army which maintains them in power and for the public services which favor those who control the government.

The author concludes with advice to the United States government. It should restrain its corporations operating in Latin America. It should not support dictatorships. All loans to South America should be earmarked for "genuinely social purposes, to build schools and train teachers, to build roads in rural districts . . . , to provide sanitation and medical care for the submerged masses of South America." "In that way," declares the author, "we can help the South American nations to build strong, independent, and truly democratic states." Only in this manner can the Fascist menace, which seems most likely to operate through Spain, be counteracted. But Miss Carr fails to point out the obstacles to the execution of such a policy.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

En tiempos de la Confederación. El gobernador Don Pedro P. Segura.

By LUCIO FUNES. [Biblioteca de la Junta de Estudios Históricas de Mendoza. Vol. II.] (Mendoza: Best Hnos., 1939. Pp. 386.)

The object of this biographical study is to throw light "on the important part played by the province of Mendoza in the preliminaries of Argentine national organization," and Pedro Pascual Segura, four times governor of Mendoza during the period 1845-65, is taken as the embodiment, in some sense, of what is best in that rôle. The work is eulogistic, and Dr. Funes disclaims any scholarly approach, modestly dismissing his contribution as a collection of stray articles pieced together: he does not pretend it to be a full-length biography. In certain respects these disclaimers are well founded.

At the outset the author rightly emphasizes the importance of Mendoza's geographical position, with Chile at her door and Buenos Aires five hundred miles away. This fact should be, in last analysis, the central theme of any study of Mendoza during the period, but Dr. Funes fails to make the relations between Mendoza and Chile continuous. These relations, so far from stopping short at the incidents of the Rosas epoch, figure in the march of political events in 1851 (the year of the crusade against Rosas), in the intrigues of Sarmiento against President Urquiza in 1854, in the "Liberalization" of 1861-62, and in the Mendocino revolts of 1864 and 1866. At such moments Mendoza became a hotbed of intrigue, a cross-section of the forces at work in Argentina.

Pedro P. Segura was a federalist, but not of the thorough-going Rosista school. Thanks to geographical position and comparative immunity from Buenos Airean embargos, Segura was able to adopt a less circumspect policy than other provincial governors. For the tools of oppression and recrimination against Unitarian renegades he had little use; law and order and judicious administrative reform characterized his governorship. Rosas saw in all this the fatal hand of Unitarian influence, and although Segura supported his stand against the Anglo-French intervention in the Rio de la Plata, Rosas rejected the proposal to create a bishopric of Mendoza—on which Segura had set his heart—and encompassed his downfall in 1847.

There is a gap in the narrative until 1852, when Urquiza rose to supreme power and Segura returned to office, and until 1856 we find the governor of Mendoza loyally supporting the leader of the Confederation against Buenos Aires. The more obvious events of the period, the *Acuerdo de San Nicolás*, the Congress of Sante Fé, the national constitution of 1853, the provincial constitution of 1854—

are sufficiently underlined and well documented, but not so the political moves of Buenos Aires in the Andean provinces. Nothing is said of the Mendocino attitude towards the tariff war against the State of Buenos Aires, although Mendoza was one of the most likely opponents of differential tariffs.

It would be unfair, perhaps, in view of the author's prefatory remarks, to complain that this biographical study lacks coherence. Nevertheless, it is disconcerting to review in detail Segura's actions and reactions when he was in office, and rarely when out of office. Although the work is entitled *En tiempos de la Confederación*, the years 1856-64 are largely passed over, despite the fact that 1860-62 were critical years in the vital struggle between liberalism and federalism in the interior provinces of Argentina. What was Segura's attitude towards Derqui as President of the Republic? As a supporter of Urquiza, how did Segura react towards the Entrerriano's intrigues before and after Pavón? And during Segura's final term, what was his attitude towards Argentine entry into the Paraguayan War in 1865?

Dr. Funes' work, then, underlines known facts rather than opens up fresh fields of research. It is well documented, although private papers are scanty and the *Asambleas Constituyentes Argentinas* (Vol. 4) and the *Archivo Mitre* might have been put to some use. It is hoped that the author will find time and opportunity to make of this welcome contribution the foundation for a more intensive and balanced study of the history of Mendoza during the period of national organization.

A. J. WALFORD.

London.

The Political Organization of Bolivia. By N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.
(Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1940. Pp. 253.
Maps. Cloth, \$3.00; paper, \$2.50.)

This study was authorized by the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Institution in 1930. While the author spent several months in Bolivia studying the political organization of that state, much of his information was taken from published works and secondary sources as well as from primary sources. The author takes his cue from the admonition given by the celebrated Argentine juriconsult Rufino de Elizalde to Domingo F. Sarmiento that the constitutional history of a country must be dealt with as an integral part of the whole of that country. In brief our author's thesis is that the political organization

of a country is only part of the whole history of that country, and cannot be fully understood outside and apart from that history.

Dr. Cleven lays great emphasis upon the fact that Bolivia is a mediterranean land and is composed of three distinct regions: the Andean, the Amazonian, and the La Platan. The author in discussing the geographical background of these regions realizes as do the ethnologist and the archaeologist that the problems of man's activities in this part of the world are exceptionally difficult and complex. Consequently he does not devote space to a superficial treatment of this phase of the subject. He is inclined, however, to hold that men who first came to these regions were of Asiatic origin.

After the treatment of the geographical background the study proper begins with the Spanish period. During this period the work of Francisco de Toledo is of the greatest significance. For certainly in strengthening the government of the presidency, no phase of its administration was overlooked or ignored. Dr. Cleven believes that it has been the fashion of too many writers to berate Spain for the evils of her colonial system. While admitting many evils in her system he points out that she was performing a great work "in establishing her institutional life in the western world" (p. 36).

The overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty and the establishment of the Bonapartist dynasty in Spain brought consternation to the people of Charcas. This factor, together with such a revolt as that of Elio in Montevideo against the rule of Viceroy Liniers, may be stimuli for political change. There is no doubt that the success of Sucre over General Olañeta in the battle of Tumusla on April 2, 1825, represents the passing of the Spanish power in Spanish South America. While authorities may generally agree that the passing of General Olañeta represents the passing of Spanish power, they are not in agreement as to his contributions to Bolivia. Dr. Cleven concludes that General Olañeta "may not have done much for that nationality except to help develop a leadership ready and willing to give it concrete expression" (pp. 66-67). Our author believes that the history of Bolivia, and especially of the period of its creation, is different from that of the other Spanish-American countries. More than any other country in South America, Bolivia was a made-to-order state. While there is no definite view expressed concerning the work of Bolívar, the author through his factual description of this general suggests to the reader that with such illiterate, inexperienced, and undisciplined people self-government was impossible. Hence Bolívar is not to be severely criticized for some of his acts which seem to some as undemocratic if not autocratic. However, Dr. Cleven does believe

that while "the greatest work done by Bolívar and Sucre with the aid of the Liberating Army, was in establishing and maintaining peace and order in the republic," the fact that they remained too long after their work was done "greatly detracts from that glory" (p. 99).

Constitutionally the national legislature of Bolivia is a parliament rather than a congress. For, as our author shows, the constitutional system of Bolivia resembles the British parliamentary system more than it does the French system. The right of interpellation of ministers of state amounts to ministerial responsibility, for no ministry has yet dared to remain in power after it has been censured by the Congress. The Congress has played an important rôle throughout the history of the Republic. There is no doubt that "Bolivia really began to live in 1880 through the greatness of the leadership of that body" (p. 113).

An excellent survey of the executive department of the government is given. The six ministries of the state in Bolivia are carefully analyzed. In particular is the topic of education considered. The work of Daniel S. Bustamante, which resulted in the Decree of July 30, 1921, reorganizing the university councils, is evidence of the educational development in Bolivia the last few decades. The national judiciary like the two other coördinate branches of the national government has undergone important changes at the hands of the makers of the Constitution of 1931. Justice has been predicated upon the principle that there is much of the divine in it. The fight to keep the Supreme Court independent has been a formidable one. It is to Casimiro Olañeta that the Supreme Court owes its final and permanent form. No doubt the fact that Bolivia was the first country in Spanish America to codify its laws is due in no small manner to Andrés Santa Cruz.

This study of Bolivia might have, as the author suggests, ended with his survey of the national and local government. Since no single institution has been more powerful in effecting the lives of the people of Bolivia than the Roman Catholic Church, a concluding chapter is given upon the relationship between church and state. It is possible to say "that the law which gave religious freedom to the Bolivian people was not enacted in strict conformity with constitutional procedure," but "it should be borne in mind that such a reform of the political Constitution was long overdue" (p. 206). The reviewer certainly shares the author's contention that "a reform in certain practices of the Roman Catholic Church especially in the way of better preparation of its clergy, may come about, to the grandeur and glory of the Church itself as well as the people."

The appendix contains the 1931 Constitution of Bolivia instead of that of 1938 since the former date was taken as the end of the study. The bibliography, though not exhaustive, is divided between those references of history and those published by the Bolivian Government. Since this study is devoted to the political organization of Bolivia, the author should follow this volume with a study of the foreign policy of this country.

WILLIAM L. LUDLOW.

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Magoon in Cuba: A History of the Second Intervention, 1906-1909.

By DAVID A. LOCKMILLER. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938. Pp. xiii, 252. \$3.00.)

Now that the policy of the United States toward her southern neighbors is resuming a positive aspect, any study which throws light upon former action is welcome. It is true that the Platt Amendment, under which the elder Roosevelt thought he undertook the Second Intervention, has gone the way of all flesh. But the broad powers of the presidency as to our strategic interests, which Foraker thought the basis of the intervention, have never been so widely appreciated by our people.

The Second Intervention arose from a default of Cuban government in the face of armed insurrection. Reluctant to act at all, the mission headed by Secretary Taft failed to offer material aid in support of the existing government, and attempted to placate the insurrectionists. This appeasement policy involved it in the necessity of taking over the Cuban administration. To placate the rebels and to restore orderly conditions under which new elections could be held were the tasks set for Magoon by the Taft mission. Moreover, as Lockmiller clearly shows, Magoon was under constant supervision from Washington, and subject to dubious reversal of particular decisions without displacement. Formally an emergency dictatorship so far as Cuba was concerned, Magoon's régime functioned in fact as a subordinate bureau of the War Department. Under the circumstances, Lockmiller's view that its achievement was creditable should be accepted. There was diligent concern for claims and contracts and public works (roads, harbors and sanitation). There was an extensive revision of legal codes which went somewhat beyond the primary tasks of establishing electoral and civil service laws satisfactory to the malcontents. Order was maintained, unemployment relieved, and a serious business depression surmounted by more positive action than that

undertaken in the United States. At the end of two years and a third, a duly elected Cuban government took office and the formal intervention ended.

In the light of contemporary bitter criticisms, it has often seemed that the personal integrity of Magoon was a serious issue. Lockmiller follows Chapman, Jenks, and Fitzgibbon in vindicating Magoon, and brings out in greater detail the responsibility of Washington for some errors of policy. Lockmiller misses a valuable opportunity, however, to analyze our organizational deficiencies for "colonial" action which this reference to Washington disclosed. The dual position of Magoon as functionary and proconsul, his dependence upon army officers and friends instead of an expert administrative staff, the inherent political insecurity of the whole régime in view of the unclarified separation of powers under our constitutional scheme, and the consequent impracticability of envisaging any long-time, searching rectification of the bases of Cuban socio-economic life—these are some of the broader considerations which this episode might have suggested. Lockmiller's history lacks the imaginative grasp of relevant factors which characterizes the brief incomplete chapter in Fitzgibbon, to go no further.

In detail, however, this book is comprehensive, careful and convincing. The Havana paving and sewer and Cienfuegos waterworks episodes now achieve a somewhat deodorized historical publicity. Lockmiller could have secured more scabrous details from files of the New York papers published at the time of the impeachment of Governor Sulzer in 1913. The incredible climax to the Cienfuegos contract, for instance, is set forth in the *New York Times* for July 27, 1913, Part II, page 2. The reviewer is dissatisfied with all attempts that have been made, including his own, to analyze Cuban financial accounts for the intervention period. Lockmiller seems to stress the contingent liabilities faced by Magoon on taking office without giving equal importance to those left by Magoon to his Cuban successor.

In summary, it must be said that Lockmiller has made more extensive use of published materials, both Cuban and American, than previous historians have done. He has made adequate efforts to locate relevant manuscripts and to interview surviving actors. His conclusions do not greatly modify the accepted historical verdict, which can be summed up in his words as follows: "Both Wood and Magoon failed to teach the Cubans how to govern themselves, both have their critics and both deserve credit for their accomplishments in the fields of public order, sanitation, education and public works. . . . The United States, by withdrawing from the island in 1909, lived up to the orig-

inal meaning of the Platt Amendment and kept faith with a sister republic" (pp. 222-23).

LELAND H. JENKS.

Wellesley College.

Competition for Empire. By WALTER DORN. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. Pp. xii, 426. \$2.90.)

It is a difficult thing for one historian to write a history of both Europe and America, even for a period of twenty-three years. It is also a difficult thing for the same historian to write accurately and penetratingly of society, politics, economics, war, science, literature and art. Such writing demands a very broad range of knowledge and an unusual capability for historical synthesis. Yet this is the sort of thing historians are increasingly being called upon to do.

This is what Professor Dorn has set out to do in this book. Since the containing institution of the life, national and international, of the mid-eighteenth century was the national monarchic state, his first four and last three chapters present the European state system, a system in which the fundamental unit was the "leviathan state" and in which international relations were a composite of "expansionist or imperialistic foreign policy" and the maintenance of a double balance of power in Europe and America—a balance maintained by standing professional armies.

On the whole, the discussion of the eighteenth-century state is excellent. "Like an old Gothic cathedral," he says (p. 18), "which, rebuilt at different epochs, presents strange incongruities of style, royal government everywhere on the Continent in 1750 was a hybrid mechanism compounded of elements that were bureaucratic and modern and others that were feudal and patrimonial." And so it was. It is also true that "the bureaucratic civil service may well pass as the greatest and most enduring achievement of the absolute monarchy, an achievement which, *mutatis mutandis*, survived all the revolutionary changes of the nineteenth century" (p. 21).

But when Professor Dorn attributes much of modern progress to the institution of the modern army, he goes, in the opinion of this reviewer, quite "off the deep end." For example:

It is obvious, in any event, that military discipline served as a model pattern for the organization of labor in the modern factory system. . . . So comprehensive was this influence [of the standing army] that in many countries in Europe it was less capitalism that called into being the standing army than the standing army that paved the way for modern capitalism (p. 14).

One might just as well say that because men are like monkeys they are descended from monkeys!

The one chapter (out of eight) devoted to intellectual history is probably the best in the book. The "Enlightenment" is here made to have unity and to fit, fairly well, into the general pattern of the economic and social life of the time. The Enlightenment he convincingly finds to have been a bourgeois movement; for "underneath the mask of their critical thought and humanitarian idealism . . . we can perceive the features of the bourgeoisie struggling for freedom from state regulation and the liberty of commerce" (p. 183). He also finds running through the intellectual and emotional life of the mid-century a persistent, true humanism that explains much of the eighteenth-century *Weltanschauung* and marks the Enlightenment as the lineal descendant of the Renaissance.

This discussion is eminently satisfying and it would be a pleasure to comment upon it more at length. One is disposed also to ask, however, why literature was slighted almost to the point of oversight, and why music was omitted altogether. One is disposed to ask why, if the American colonies (to say nothing of India) were included in commercial and military history, they should not have been included in intellectual history as well.

The importance of commerce and colonial empires to the mercantilistic national economies in the European state system is correctly and adequately recognized. Professor Dorn is evidently not a colonial historian, however, for he slips easily into an old pitfall when he says that "It is true that neither the French Canadians nor the New England colonists wanted a war in North America" (p. 165). It is true that *some* colonists did not desire war, but it is equally true that *others*, particularly in New England, did desire war, for the express purpose, among others, of driving France out of the fisheries. How else can we explain the New England expedition against Louisbourg or the bitter New England disappointment when Louisbourg was returned to France? He makes another false step with the sweeping statement that "both the French and British empires were erected on the foundation of slave labor and vital imperial interests were at stake in the competition of their nationals for the control of the African slave trade" (p. 261). Could this statement possibly be made to apply so sweepingly to Canada? To New England? To New York and Pennsylvania—or, for that matter, to the whole of Virginia, the Carolinas or Georgia?

With regard to the contemporary pictures here reproduced, it should be noted that they are not wholly successful. The idea is a good one, but the prints are excessively poor; furthermore, they would be much more useful were they placed in juxtaposition with

the pertinent passages of the text. The bibliography seems to cover about everything of a secondary nature; it might very well have been shorter and more selective.

This book is a commendable effort at historical synthesis, and to a considerable measure achieves its object. The first four chapters hang together very well, as do the last three, since they are all on closely related political or economic subjects. The chapter on the Enlightenment, excellent as it is, does not fit so well. It seems somewhat apart from the rest of the book; the author has not quite succeeded in achieving the "whole piece" unity between this chapter and the others. The reader is not brought quite to feel that the men of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Diplomatic Revolution and the Enlightenment were all of the same intellectual generation. This fault might have been avoided, in part at least, by the inclusion, at the end, of a chapter drawing all the threads together.

It is an excellent book, nevertheless, quite up to the high standard of the other volumes in this excellent series.

MAX SAVELLE.

Stanford University.

The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739. By LAWRENCE CARROLL FORD. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1939. Pp. 175. \$2.00.)

The bay and region about the present "Annapolis of Aviation" have a history as old as any part of continental United States beginning with the earliest Spanish explorations of the New World. The most interesting chapter, perhaps, of this long record relates to the tri-cornered race for the effective possession of Pensacola during the last decade of the seventeenth and the early years of the following century, and it is this story which is recounted in the work under review. During the period indicated this beautiful bay occupied a place in the discussions of the councils of Europe and New Spain out of proportion to its actual importance because it then appeared that the nation occupying this port held the key to the entire lower Mississippi valley and the northern Gulf region. Consequently, Spain and France rivaled each other's efforts to establish and hold an outpost there while England, the third contestant, sought to gain possession by more devious methods. The first phase of this international struggle was adequately described by W. E. Dunn in his *Spanish and French Rivalry in the Gulf Region, 1686-1702* (Austin, 1917), a thoroughly documented account from Spanish records of the events set in motion by La Salle's ill-starred attempt to plant a French colony at the

mouth of the Mississippi. These included belated Spanish efforts to occupy Texas and West Florida between which France had driven a definite wedge in Louisiana by 1702. The present work, while focusing attention on Pensacola's part in the international drama, carries the story well beyond Dunn's account and, in this respect, is an important contribution to the history of the Spanish borderlands.

The first two of the five chapters of Dr. Ford's book are essentially a reworking of the material discovered and used by Dunn, and approximately the same number of pages in both works is devoted to the story of Pensacola from the inception of the idea of a settlement to the final establishment of a weak Spanish outpost there. Though the reworking is skilfully done, to the reviewer the allotting of nearly equal space to a retelling of this part of the account can only be justified by additional material discovered subsequently or by a fresh interpretation derived from data previously used. Neither justification is apparent, however. In writing the sixty-odd pages of these two chapters Dr. Ford seems to have made use only of the transcripts in the Library of Congress originally obtained by Dunn, with some incidental consultation of photostatic material owned by the Florida State Historical Society. These sources are of basic importance and supply all essentials, yet a few further details might have been obtained in readily available documents. In the New York Public Library, for example, are a report and a long letter bearing on Pensacola within the period studied, neither of which was utilized by Dunn or Ford. The report is a copy of the Pez memorial urging the occupation of the bay, dated June 2, 1689; the long letter is by Sigüenza y Góngora, dated May 9, 1699, and throws considerable light on the Pensacola controversy with Andrés de Arriola. This latter document has been used in secondary works and its text is available in printed form in Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Biografía de D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, seguida de varios documentos inéditos* (Mexico City, 1928). Some curious details of the planting of the post at Pensacola and the life of its garrison are contained in an incomplete *testimonio* in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid bearing the notation: "Son asuntos relativos a los Franceses y Escoseses en el Darién. Está incompleto" (*Papeles de estado*, legajo 2315). A few of these documents were utilized in a short study "Don Andrés de Arriola and the occupation of Pensacola Bay" included in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (Lancaster, Pa., 1932), pp. 81-106.

In the matter of interpretation there is little departure from Dunn, though perhaps more stress is placed on English activities. In dwelling on French interests, however, Dr. Ford fails to make plain that

one of the chief purposes of Iberville's voyage to the Gulf was to threaten by way of Pensacola or Louisiana the rich mines of northern Mexico. "La grande affaire est la découverte des mines" ran the Frenchman's orders (cf. Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest*. . . . Vol. IV, p. 352).

The remaining three chapters offer an excellent account of the less studied period from 1702 to 1739 and Dr. Ford is here most successful in disentangling the complicated maze of intrigue, shifting policies and changing ownership of the feeble yet valued outpost at Pensacola as the French, English, and Indians seek to wrest it, sometimes successfully, from the Spaniards by direct assault or by more subtle methods. These efforts are well described against the background of European diplomacy as the story is brought to a somewhat abrupt conclusion with the "Convention of El Pardo," dated January 14, 1739, whose character is not clearly defined.

There are a few misprints the most important of which is, perhaps, "seventy" for "twenty" (p. 100, l. 5). The author contradicts himself in stating on page 10 that the Pez memorial "was probably drawn up by Barroto" and asserting on page 83 that Pez himself was the probable author. The document in question was actually drawn up by Sigüenza y Góngora. It is doubtful that any real missionary work was done at Pensacola, as the author believes (p. 62, n. 87), for, as the documents clearly reveal, the Spaniards were greatly disappointed in finding no Indians to evangelize. But these are unimportant matters in a doctoral thesis which is well written and which forms a substantial contribution to the colonial history of an area now within these United States.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Brown University.

Diplomacy and the Borderlands: The Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819.

By PHILIP COOLIDGE BROOKS. [University of California Publications in History, Vol. 24.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. x + 262. Cloth, \$2.50; Paper, \$2.00.)

The main purpose of this book, as stated by its author, is "to weigh the comparative influences of frontier conditions and of political considerations upon the diplomats" who were concerned in the negotiation of the treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain. "The rôle played by Spain," he continues, "forms the core of this narrative. Accordingly, the central theme is the career of Don Luis de Onís as Spanish minister in [the United States] from 1809 to 1819." The narrative begins with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803,

develops in great detail the negotiations of Onís with John Quincy Adams in 1818 and 1819, and ends with a chapter on the execution of the treaty in 1821 and its aftermath. Dr. Brooks has fortified his narrative with the text of the Adams-Onís treaty as well as the usual apparatus of footnotes and bibliography; has enriched it with two maps and an appendix containing a discussion of the Melish map of 1818 (one edition of which was used and cited by Adams and Onís); and has adorned it with reproductions of Sully's portrait of an almost unbelievably benign Adams and an anonymous portrait of Onís which shows that gentleman with a Byronic brow and a chip on his shoulder.

Based upon archival investigation in Spain, France, and England as well as the United States, this volume adds considerably to our knowledge of the subjects discussed and will enhance the reputation Dr. Brooks has already gained among specialists by articles published in 1934 and subsequently. Its chief merit consists in its skillful analysis of historical documents and terminology. It shows that there was no "purchase of Florida" in the pecuniary sense and stresses the impropriety (already noted by some earlier writers) of calling the treaty of 1819 the "Florida treaty." Dr. Brooks prefers to call it the "Adams-Onís treaty" for its negotiators, although he occasionally uses the term coined by Professor S. F. Bemis, "transcontinental treaty," which many may still prefer because it suggests the most striking features of a treaty that disposed of territories and boundaries extending in an almost unbroken line from Florida on the Atlantic to the Oregon country on the Pacific.

Though this is a very creditable piece of work, it seems a pity that Dr. Brooks did not revise his manuscript thoroughly in the long interval between its transmission to the publisher (August, 1936) and its publication (December, 1939). Its structural and bibliographical defects are rather numerous, and some of its assumptions and conclusions need more support than Dr. Brooks has given them. Perhaps the chief defect lies in his failure to make adequate use—in some cases, to make any use at all—of important sources in the United States. It should also be noted that in 1937 Dr. Charles C. Griffin published a monograph, *The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822*, which, while it differs from the book under review in many respects, nevertheless covers much of the same ground, is based upon a careful study of most of the same sources in Europe and the United States, and reaches somewhat different conclusions. And yet, although Dr. Brooks refers to it (pp. vii and 246) he does not appear to have made any systematic use of it.

Whatever his reasons may have been (they are not stated, and can only be inferred), the omission is regrettable, since it increases the element of incompleteness in a study which, so far as it goes, is in the main excellent.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

University of Pennsylvania.

Border Captives: the Traffic in Prisoners by Southern Plains Indians, 1835-1875. By CARL COKE RISTER. (Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1940. Pp. vii-xiv, 220. \$2.00.)

Professor Rister's work forms a more modern approach to a subject which has been far from neglected in the literature of western American history. It could scarcely be considered either a profound or definitive discussion, but is not without its merits.

The professed purpose of the book seems to be, in the words of the author, "a study of the captive traffic" to "provide a helpful background . . . for a comprehensive view of Indian-settler relations." An unfriendly critic might be inclined to say that *Border Captives* depends too heavily, for its slender thread of narrative, upon a general discussion of the Indian wars of the Great Plains. Moreover, apparently a full two thirds of the subject matter upon which such a book might well have been based—the real Mexican-American borderland, and the Apache wars—have been either ignored or very sketchily treated. Texas and Oklahoma form the chief *locale* of the book; and even their share in its story is largely Anglo-American in viewpoint and limited to a relatively late period of the Indian wars.

The book opens with two chapters (pp. 3-59), on the location, range and tribal habits of the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache and other more or less nomadic Indian nations of the southern plains and Rocky Mountain area, with some slight discussion of early Spanish and Mexican relations with these peoples. Almost no effort is made in these chapters to utilize Spanish or Mexican archival material or manuscript sources; and, as is indeed the case throughout, the sources of evidence are chiefly English or Anglo-American. "Indianizing Texans," the third and longest chapter, is a résumé of old border tales of white captives among the Indians of Texas, including such stories as those of Cynthia Ann Parker, Rachel Plummer, Jane Adeline Wilson, and Sarah Ann Horn.

The remaining four chapters are in large part a summary of the Indian wars of Texas and Oklahoma during and after the American Civil War. As might be expected, they contain numerous details about military affairs, treaties and campaigns, and too often the ex-

periences of white captives seem to be completely lost or forgotten. The book ends rather abruptly with the surrender of the last free Indian tribes of the Great Plains area, and with only a feeble recapitulation of its somewhat hazy thesis.

In format the work is neat, compact, attractively bound and printed, and pertinently illustrated, with two excellent maps. Only one typographical error was noted (p. 193). The bibliography, if perhaps a little pretentious for so small a volume, is at least adequate and helpful, as is the brief index.

To this reviewer, judging the work as a whole, it seemed to suggest a collection of extracts from the old-time, garrulous volumes of frontier folklore, of the type of J. H. Brown's *Indian Wars of Texas*, or J. P. Dunn's *Massacres of the Mountains*, dressed up in a modern, scientific style, and with its stories better authenticated if not much more interestingly told. But the avowal of such an impression need not be taken as a condemnation of the book, for it has some value as a convenient guide for other students of the subject.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Arizona State College.

Green Flag Over Texas, A Story of the Last Years of Spain in Texas.

By JULIA KATHRYN GARRETT. (New York and Dallas: The Cordova Press, Incorporated, 1939. Pp. xv, 275. \$3.00.)

Dr. Garrett has written a new chapter in Texas history, based largely on manuscript materials from Mexico, Texas, the Library of Congress, and Bancroft Library. She has pieced together a complex story from the conflicting correspondence of rival factions. Names which would formerly flit like shadows across the pages of history have been replaced by personalities whose dreams, ambitions, and actions take on reality under the facile pen of the author.

The early revolutionary movement in Texas is given adequate and comprehensive treatment, considerable space being devoted to the trends and influences from Mexico and the United States with some consideration for the interests of England and France.

Texas, "Imperial Bulwark," threatened by Indians in the interior, filibusters on the frontier, and by republicans everywhere, was "vibrating with revolution." The first surge of revolution toward Texas was started by Hidalgo and ended by the treachery of Elizondo. But only weak bonds held the restless people of Texas to the royalists. The author has effectively shown the importance of propaganda in creating the royalist and revolutionary factions and how it was equally effective in creating dissension among the republicans.

The striking success of Gutiérrez was checked by the propaganda of the American faction, guided by William Shaler, who successfully undermined the victor and replaced him with the treacherous adventurer, José Alvarez de Toledo. Especially noteworthy is the account of Toledo and his connection with the American officials. The attitude of these officials seemed to range from interested acquiescence in Washington to enthusiastic support and active participation on the border. One should keep in mind that the Louisiana boundary had not yet been settled.

The royalists gained strength from the forceful leadership of Colonel Arredondo and the belated aid from the viceroy, previously withheld. The republicans were weakened by the rivalry of Gutiérrez and Toledo and the rift between the Mexicans and Anglo-Americans. Then "one ill-planned battle" destroyed the weak republic. With this event in 1813 the author closes her interesting account; but the story goes on and the rest of it needs now to be told.

The author writes with an individualistic style, and she portrays characters and events with colorful words and picturesque phrases and with a tendency towards the romantic. Her story is divided into forty-one short chapters. There are several pictorial maps, not listed, and there is an index. The footnotes are placed annoyingly at the end of the book instead of at the conventional place, and there are about a score of typographical errors.

Miss Garrett has, however, written a scholarly book and contributed valuable material to the story of Texas and the borderlands.

JOHN RYDJORD.

Municipal University of Wichita.

Cádiz to Cathay: The Story of the Long Struggle for a Waterway Across the American Isthmus. By MILES P. DUVAL, JR. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1940. Pp. xx, 554. \$5.00.)

This important book by a commander in the United States Navy is the most comprehensive study, chronologically, that has appeared in its field. It opens with the cruise of Columbus along the Central American coast in 1502 and concludes with the Hull-Alfaro Treaty of 1939; but most of the volume is devoted to events directly connected with the choice of the Panama Canal route.

The book is based upon extensive research, largely in printed special treatises and official sources, but also in manuscript materials, including the valuable collection of papers of Tomás Herrán in possession of Georgetown University.

For the most part the narrative is well proportioned; but it gives less consideration to the framing and ratification of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (pp. 60-63) than to Blaine's futile efforts to ignore the agreement as null and void (pp. 97-101). Furthermore, while holding that the treaty violated the Monroe Doctrine by taking Great Britain into partnership regarding the proposed transit route, Commander DuVal, like most writers, does not point out that the United States, through insisting on a retroactive interpretation of the agreement, forced the British to withdraw from Central American territory which they occupied even before President Monroe's annual message of 1823 was written. This was a rare triumph for the Doctrine.

The author has supplied illuminating biographical sketches of the leading characters connected with canal activities at the turn of the last century. Generally his treatment of the parts played by each is remarkably objective; but in some instances he seems to have been slightly overinfluenced in favor of Bunau-Varilla because of his admiration of Bunau-Varilla's achievements. As he says, the Hay-Herrán Treaty was "the result of long negotiations in which the employees or agents of a foreign corporation, instead of the duly authorized officials, were the leading negotiators" (p. 212). Bunau-Varilla, the wily engineer of the New Panama Company, and a heavy stockholder in it, was especially active in this regard—partly in the hope of salvaging his funds through the sale of Company rights to the United States. Chapter VI gives an amusing account of the French engineer's lobbying methods. He combated the efforts of Senator Morgan, the proponent of the Nicaragua route, by sending each United States senator a propaganda sheet on Nicaraguan earthquakes, and attached to it was a Nicaraguan postage stamp picturing a volcano erupting vigorously. In his final estimate, the author admits that, "At least it can be said that . . . Bunau-Varilla had used in his diplomacy the well-known military principle of 'Stonewall' Jackson: 'Mystify, mislead, and surprise'" (p. 385).

Perhaps all students would agree with Commander DuVal's opinion of the telegram sent on June 9, 1903, by Secretary of State Hay to Arthur Beaupré, the American minister to Bogotá, and made known by him to the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs, with the recommendation that it be communicated to the congress. In wording, the message was "ominous and undiplomatic" (p. 225), and the author thinks it one of the principal causes for the rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty.

The volume includes a copy of the text of John Bassett Moore's *Memorandum* on the canal question, written early in August, 1903. This, by legalistic reasoning, found in the treaty of 1846 with New Granada sufficient authority to carry out the canal project by force. Here and there the document seems to have a Rooseveltian touch, which suggests that at the time Moore and the President were seeing eye to eye in the matter. However, Commander DuVal perhaps accepts too readily Roosevelt's alleged motives for his subsequent actions. His "taking" the Isthmus was probably caused less by conviction that the Panama route was superior than by his vanity and pugnacity, roused by failure of the Colombian government to ratify the Hay-Herrán Treaty.

Very incidentally the author, quoting Arrocha Graell, calls attention to the vital part played by an obscure colleague of Roosevelt, the wife of Manuel Amador, the leader of the revolution and first president of Panama. On November 2, 1903, when Amador was dejected by the arrival of Colombian forces and the desertion of most of his supporters, the señora, assuming the rôle of Lady Macbeth, induced him to screw his courage to the sticking point and to continue with the plan for revolution. She also advised her husband to ask the President of the Panama Railroad to delay the movement of the Colombian troops, which he did (p. 323).

Though Commander DuVal is proud that the canal was achieved, he makes no pretense of glorying in the attitudes and actions of American officials in connection with the event. In fact, the detailed account given in *Cádiz to Cathay* may well cause renewed feelings of shame to self-respecting citizens of the United States, not only because of the sophistry employed by Roosevelt, but also because of the rôles of lesser Americans, such as Major W. M. Black of the United States Army, who hoisted the national flag of Panama after the revolution. It was a sordid business and merits the scathing verdict of James Truslow Adams—quoted by DuVal—which concludes with reference to the partial amends made by the United States to the pride of Colombia "by granting her \$25,000,000, or two and a half times the extra sum which we might have had to pay for the Canal Zone in Roosevelt's time with honor" (p. 446).

In conclusion, Commander DuVal agrees that Senator Morgan had the "larger view"—that the Nicaragua route would have been better for the United States; and he sets forth a brief for early construction of a Nicaragua canal.

The volume has numerous maps and other illustrative material,

and it includes many appendices giving the texts of important treaties and of other documents relating to an Isthmian canal. The index is good except in the case of personal names, where it lacks analysis.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

The All-American Front. By DUNCAN AIKMAN. (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940. Pp. 344. \$3.00.)

Closer coöperation among the American republics everyone recognizes is desirable. Many of our popular writers currently present it as the greatest need for American safety and easily obtainable if only some favorite expedient be adopted. All will be well, we are told, if only we emphasize our cultural relations through teaching Spanish and Latin-American history and literature in our schools, or if we lower our tariffs or if our travelling salesmen are more polite, or their employers grant longer credits, or our investors "take their chances" or we keep an eye on the propaganda of other countries and adopt a policy of good neighborhood.

Mr. Aikman does not fall into the errors of the simplists and those who know Latin America will chuckle at his success in exposing the weakness of their arguments. Having unhorsed the "prescriptioneers," the author proceeds to make an analysis of basic conditions. The character of colonial settlements, the winning of independence, the current nationalistic movements, the limitations of economic endowments, the character of social organization and the "inevitable dictators" are all discussed with more frankness and acumen than are shown in most popular books which seek to give a bird's-eye view of the highly variant civilizations of our southern neighbors.

In these chapters the author makes an honest effort to hold to a factual basis and he does not hesitate to recognize that to most of his general theses "there are exceptions." In certain cases some of his readers will feel that the exceptions are quite as important as the rule. Taken as a whole, however, those who know Latin America will recognize that the book contains an unusual amount of common sense about a subject too often discussed in all but minor measures in the language of fantasy.

The text, like most popular discussions, is not free from errors of fact and occasional startling conclusions. Qualifications are needed, for example, for statements such as those which follow. Spain waged "numerous" wars with her former American colonies after the 1830's. The treaty of 1846 with Colombia gave the United States "permission" to dig a canal at Panama. The debt collecting activity

in Venezuela in 1902 was a German affair. Washington encouraged a "secessionist revolution in Panama." A detachment of American cavalry was "virtually annihilated at Carrizal." The oil boom caused by the World War brought profits to the oil industries of Venezuela and Colombia. Cuba's railways are British owned. The Guatemalan laborer is now free to accept work or to loaf as he wishes. The differences between Mexican and Central American Indian stocks are "largely moonshine."

Many of the author's readers will feel that he is sanguine about the development of democracy in Venezuela and Chile and will be disappointed in his analysis of the political and economic influence of the Mexican agrarian movement. They will find the discussion of foreign investments one which makes no distinction between direct and portfolio items and concludes that foreign investors "are doing all in their power to condemn the one hundred and twenty million people from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn to permanent sweatshoppery." They are systematically trying to milk the cow dry. An analysis of the actual profits—and losses—would have been helpful.

His review of the basic factors faced by Latin Americans completed, Mr. Aikman turns to consider what is to be done to bring coöperation with the United States. He offers his own prescription. It is not too much to say that it is not precise. On the whole he believes we must put faith in education to bring better understanding. A Cecil Rhodes could help—or many of them. Political reform is needed but democracy must come at least primarily from efforts within the republics themselves. He has hopes for a United States policy which will favor dictators who develop conditions which will make dictators "dispensable." "Pull no punches in supporting progressive governments wherever . . . they come into power." That, most readers would agree to if they were sure they could recognize progressive governments when they see them—and that the governments recognized would continue "progressive." We should, we are told, "give Uncle Sam's favors" to those who increase "mass purchasing power" and, finally, the good neighbor must find practical ways of spreading the wealth which his citizens are winning in Latin America so that wages, living standards, and popular education shall reach higher levels. This certainly is not a simple prescription for establishing an all-American front.

CHESTER LLOYD JONES.

University of Wisconsin.

Mexico Today. ARTHUR P. WHITAKER, Ed. [Vol. 208, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.*] (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1940. Pp. xi, 252. \$2.50.)

No country in Latin America so vitally interests the United States as her next-door neighbor Mexico, yet it must be conceded that the United States has been less successful in bringing Mexico into the friendly orbit of the Good Neighbor Policy than any other Latin-American republic. The causes for this situation are many and varied, but undoubtedly a very important one is the lack of mutual understanding between the two peoples. The articles of this symposium at least indicate the vast scope of the problem and shed considerable light upon the Mexican background and motivation.

In the dozen and a half articles which make up the volume practically every phase of Mexican internal life is analyzed. Its geographic and social handicaps, the problem of the Indian and mixed blood population, labor, agriculture, education, production and distribution of wealth, cultural and religious questions are all considered by writers who have specialized in the subject matter which they have presented. More than half of the contributors are Mexicans who have influential positions in the political or cultural life of Mexico. Manuel Gamio discusses Mexican society, Vicente Lombardo Toledano gives a sympathetic presentation of the labor movement, and Ramón Beteta attempts to give a fair explanation of Mexico's foreign policy. With such a wealth of material presented the reader will naturally pay particular attention to those aspects which interest him most, so perhaps the reviewer may be permitted the same latitude.

One of the most useful and pertinent articles which should interest every student of Mexico is Dr. Parkes' analysis of political leadership in Mexico. His unbiased and convincing presentation is hardly optimistic for the early establishment of a constitutional democracy. The two articles by Professor Lloyd Jones and Edgar Turlington are particularly informative and objective in regard to the present economic policy of the government both internally and in its attitude towards foreign investments.

The final article by Undersecretary of State Beteta on Mexico's foreign relations is quite unconvincing. Taking his thesis that Mexico cannot afford to accept the "so-called principles of international law," which civilized states have slowly accepted as an essential basis for international fair dealing, he tries to justify the arbitrary seizure of foreign property on the basis of public or social welfare. As to

obtaining fair and prompt compensation he will accept no intervention of foreign states nor will he permit diplomatic interposition or arbitration in questions of a country's "legislation or the validity of the decisions legally issued by domestic tribunals." Such a doctrine would hardly encourage future investments of foreign capital in Mexico.

A bibliography covering the series of articles is appended, of decidedly unequal merit in the various fields and particularly weak in the field of foreign relations. None of the writings of Professors Callahan, Hackett, Priestley or Rippey are mentioned in this connection, some of which should certainly interest the "general reader" for whom the lists were compiled.

GRAHAM H. STUART.

Stanford University.

Economic Relations With Latin America. [Michigan Business Papers, No. 6, January, 1940.] Edited by D. M. PHELPS. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1940. Pp. 75. \$1.00.)

What's wrong with this recipe?

"Take several tables on direct investments from Department of Commerce statistics and adapt them for pot-boiler use; mix thoroughly with platitudes such as 'we cannot sell more unless we buy more,' and 'capital won't flow unless adequate assurances are given'; add a standard defense of direct investments; and season with a 'brave' statement of the debtors' views. Just before serving, prepare a journalistic re-hash of developments since the original stew was concocted. Avoid originality as much as possible. Label 'Conference on Economic Relations with Latin America' and serve cold to an unimpressed audience!"

For the past decade public opinion in this country has supported a strengthening of economic and political ties with Latin America. The good-neighbor policy projected these aspirations and objectives, but it long ago became clear that implementation of the policy was inadequate. Since it is the function of university men to lead, a great opportunity was unfolded for vigorous constructive criticism and for the presentation of ideas for a fresh attack on the problems. After all, the problems were known.

The Conference at Ann Arbor presented little or nothing that a reporter, freshly assigned to the Latin-American field, could not have picked up in a few days. Yes, a reporter could only have guessed how much of the proceeds of defaulted bonds had been utilized for stated purposes, how much had been used for productive ends. But

here were "experts" doing the same type of guesswork, men whose function it was to make contributions to the subject rather than to repeat the loose speculations of uninformed observers. Yes, a reporter could hardly have been expected to offer an original approach to the problem of defaulted debts. But here were "experts" who had nothing to say. Yes, a reporter could hardly be expected to devise new administrative techniques for our direct investments. But here were experts who could do little more than recognize the problem; James H. Drumm of the City Bank did put forth a plan, but the discussion of it was empty. How many of those in attendance had ever sat down to a serious consideration of hemisphere trade data and settled in their own minds the merits or lack of merit of a hemisphere-preference scheme? The reporter is responsible for reporting spot news, but not so the university expert. Too little imagination, too little original research—these are the chief shortcomings revealed by the Conference.

It will be pointed out that the Conference included members from the banking and business world as well as from Washington and the universities, but disappointment in its proceedings is most intense in the case of the university representatives from whom disinterested original studies are badly needed. We have entered upon a decade when the economic problems of Latin America will command greater attention. Are the universities to contribute to the solution of these problems?

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

Man of Glory. Simón Bolívar. By THOMAS ROURKE. (New York: Morrow and Co., 1939. Pp. xiii, 395. Illustrations 6. Map. \$3.50.)

This volume adds another item to the growing list of popular books on the Great Liberator of South America. In this volume Thomas Rourke (as his name is printed on the title-page), the author of a realistic book on the last Dictator of Venezuela, presents a biography of a South American leader of the revolutionary era who was not only a political philosopher, a framer of constitutions, and a giant among military leaders, but also the uncrowned king of northern South America during the last years of the protracted struggle for independence from Spain. The text of this biography is adorned with a half-dozen illustrations, mostly obtained from the Grace Lines and the Pan-American Union. On a map of Bolívar's South America, the most important towns and battlefields are located without any indication, however, of the main routes followed by the victorious

armies of liberation. The text is followed by an inadequate bibliography which does not even mention the published writings of Francisco de Miranda, José de San Martín, and Francisco de Paula Santander, three great contemporaries of Bolívar who played important rôles in the movement for South American emancipation.

The text is divided somewhat illogically into five parts. Part I traces the life of Simón de Bolívar from 1783 to 1812, the juncture when General Miranda was made the first Dictator of Venezuela, after a terrible earthquake had devastated his native land and undermined the power and prestige of the patriots. These were the years when the young creole Bolívar was, so to speak, finding himself. In journalistic fashion the author leaves out little of the anecdotal or legendary material with which admiring biographers have embellished this part of the Liberator's career. Though Rourke uses such phrases as "it is said," "some claim," "a story told," yet he does not always undertake to distinguish between the true and the false like a scientific historian. Part II includes the months from July, 1812, when the first republic of Venezuela was wounded to the heart until December, 1813, when Bolívar had almost completed a reconquest of his native land from the Spaniards. Part III includes the brief but significant interlude in his life when the Venezuelan leader in spite of his "war to the death" against the Spanish royalists was driven into exile in the West Indies. It was during this exile that the dauntless leader composed his famous prophetic letter to a gentleman of Jamaica in which he undertook to forecast the political fortunes of the nations which were to arise amid the ruins of the Spanish colonial system and to predict the convocation on the Isthmus of Panama of the first international American congress. Part IV describes in considerable detail the tortuous path of glory which the tireless leader of the revolution pursued from 1817 to 1824—a path which led him successively from Angostura in the Orinoco Valley to Boyacá on the elevated plateau of New Granada, from Carabobo in the plains of Venezuela to Bomboná on the equatorial slopes of the Andes, and from the pestiferous port of Guayaquil to the City of the Kings, the capital of the ancient viceroyalty of Peru. Part V traces the sudden descent of the Great Liberator from the pinnacle of glory reached in 1824 to his sad and untimely death at Santa Marta in December, 1830, an exile from his native city, disillusioned and heart-broken.

Though the atmosphere of this book is full of color, and few good stories are missed, it has several shortcomings. The occasional use of Spanish words (like "coleando") will be apt to bother those readers who are not acquainted with the language of Spanish America. The

almost total absence of footnote references to authorities makes it difficult and at times impossible to check misleading or suspected statements. On page 195 the author unblushingly discovers that in or about 1819 President James Monroe recognized as a belligerent the struggling republic of Venezuela, which had hardly a permanent habitation. A little farther on Rourke characterizes Bernardo O'Higgins, an exiled Chilean who played a prominent part in the emancipation of his native land from Spanish rule, as "the Irish patriot President of Chile." The author does cast doubt upon an absurd statement attributed to "some historians" to the effect that an agent sent from the United States to the camp of Bolívar in 1819 was the littérateur Washington Irving. The Great Liberator is credited with having issued invitations not only to all the Latin-American nations but also to England and the United States to send delegates to the Congress which he wished to assemble on the Isthmus of Panama. Thus it is that although this biography depicts a glowing panorama which should interest the so-called general reader, it will prove disappointing to the serious student of one of the most significant movements in modern history.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

University of Illinois.

Proclamas y Discursos del Libertador. Edited by VICENTE LECUNA. (Caracas: Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1939. Pp. vii, 455.)

To supplement the ten volumes of *Cartas del Libertador* which he edited and which were printed by the government of Venezuela in 1929-1930, Vicente Lecuna, Venezuelan engineer, banker, and historian, Director of the Academia de la Historia of Venezuela and outstanding authority on Bolívar, has issued a thick volume of proclamations and speeches of Bolívar. The compilation was ordered published by President Eleazar López Contreras on October 27, 1936. According to the decree of publication, it was to be distributed among the national libraries and presidents of the Bolivarian countries (in very fine paper), to the people and institutions dedicating themselves to the study of Bolívar (in fine paper), and to the colleges, schools, and persons interested in receiving it (in plain paper). The National Academy of History was commissioned to compile and arrange the documents, make an analytical index of them, and take charge of the editing. This has been ably done under the supervision of the erudite and scholarly Dr. Lecuna, who has also contributed as an introduction to the work a valuable bibliographical note on previous publications of decrees of speeches of Bolívar, published between 1842 and 1930.

This note contains eight items on which Lecuna gives complete bibliographical data. Sr. Lecuna decides that they have all been inadequate and have all more or less copied the compilation issued in 1842 by Colonel Juan José Conde, a former officer in the army of liberation, but he also gives credit for the good intentions which moved the compilers of the previous editions.

Dr. Lecuna obtains the proclamations and speeches which he has collected from all the sources available: original copies still extant, rough drafts, copy-books, circulars and broadsides, leaflets and pamphlets, memoirs left by contemporaries, and papers such as the *Gaceta de Caracas* and the *Correo del Orinoco*. Although all the documents are valuable primary materials for the student of the Hispanic-American movement for independence, perhaps of greatest interest is the long harangue found in the *Memoria* issued by the Liberator on December 15, 1812, soon after the defeat and disaster which befell the first Venezuelan republic. The *Memoria*, directed to the citizens of New Granada from Cartagena for the purpose of saving them from the same mistakes made by the Venezuelans, gives as the causes of the failure of the first attempt at Venezuelan independence: (1) the earthquake; (2) the perfidy of the clergy and their undue influence among the people; (3) the military superiority of the Spaniards, underestimated by the patriots; (4) the exaggerated principles of personal rights of the colonials and local rights and privileges of the provinces; (5) the unwarranted frivolous dissipation of the public funds by an infinite number of newly created officials; (6) internal factional strife; and (7) the general opinion that a defensive war was sufficient to expel the enemy. Bolívar hoped by these appeals to the Granadines to warn all South Americans fighting for independence to avoid the same errors committed by the Venezuelans. He goes further and denounces a federal system of government for the nascent states, for that system had merely aided in the overthrow of the first republic in Venezuela.

As the *Cartas* edited by Lecuna in 1929-1930, the *Proclamas* are issued in clear large type, on good paper, and in excellent format, but in addition they include nineteen excellent plates, the majority of which are portraits of Bolívar and pictures of sites of historical interest to students of Bolívar's activities from 1811 to 1830. But there is also a fine reproduction of the portrait of Sucre by Michelena which hangs in the Bolivian Senate. A very useful index, unusual for such publications in Latin America, is included.

Bolívar's appeals that the people forget their petty quarrels and fight the common enemy of South America seem to make up the con-

tents of the bulk of the documents. His many difficulties and his continued persistence in the face of many obstacles are clearly exemplified. Bolívar had little sympathy for those demanding personal rights when their country was still fighting for its life. The proclamations and speeches here printed clearly justify Ybarra's sobriquet of "The Passionate Warrior." More than ever do they seem to justify the widespread opinion that South American independence could not have been won as easily without the psychological appeal and the resoluteness of purpose of Bolívar. Appropriately enough the last document of the collection is the appeal of December 10, 1830, to the Colombians to forget their personal and local interests and to dedicate themselves and all their energies to the preservation of the union.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN.

University of Colorado.

Alejandro Malaspina. Viaje al Río de la Plata en el siglo XVIII. Con prólogo y notas del Capitán de Fragata (R.) Héctor R. Ratto. [Biblioteca de la Sociedad de Historia Argentina, Vol. VII.] (Buenos Aires: Bernabé y Cía., 1938. Pp. xxxix, 390. Illustrated.)

The documents reprinted in this volume would possess a great deal of interest for historical students at any time, for they bring together much valuable information about the politico-scientific expedition of 1789-1794 which was sent to America by the Spanish government under the command of the Italian-born Alejandro Malaspina and which was one of the last and most significant manifestations of the eighteenth-century Bourbon renaissance in the Spanish empire. In the present world crisis, in which revolutionary forces are threatening to destroy long-established empires, these documents are exceptionally interesting because Malaspina's voyage occurred at a time when the flood of an earlier revolution was beginning to sweep over Europe and America and because he used the results of his long investigation in a valiant though futile effort to keep the Spanish empire from being engulfed by the flood.

In the year following his return to Spain, Malaspina fell victim to a conservative reaction at the Spanish court. His disgrace, which was sudden and permanent, was little short of a calamity for subsequent historians. It not only prevented the completion of his elaborate and voluminous report, which would probably have been even more valuable—because more comprehensive and franker—than the accounts of Spanish America written a few years later by Alexander von Humboldt; but it also led to the dispersal of most of the reports

already prepared by Malaspina and his companions and to the loss of many of them. Not until nearly a century later were the most important of the extant fragments brought together and published in one stout volume by Pedro de Novo y Colson (Madrid, 1885).

The present volume in turn contains only a relatively small part of the fragments published by Novo y Colson, namely, those which relate to the preparations for the expedition and to its activities and observations in the Plata region, together with Malaspina's illuminating "*Plan para escribir su viaje*" drawn up in 1795 for the rather revolting Padre Gil of Seville, who was to have done the writing. The only new material consists of the editor's very useful prologue and his chapter (pp. 343-348) on certain subsidiary expeditions. Nevertheless, since Novo y Colson's more comprehensive work is now rare, the editor has rendered an important service by publishing this volume. Interpreting "Río de la Plata" so broadly as to include accounts of the vast region from Potosí to the Falkland Islands and from Montevideo around Cape Horn to Chile, he has republished enough of the original documents to give the reader a clear idea of the character and purposes of this expedition, which was intended to bring back not only scientific information, such as marine charts for the use of Spanish navigators, but also political information which would aid the Spanish court in steering the imperial ship of state.

Students of the political and cultural history of the Spanish empire in the eighteenth century will find many familiar names—such as José de Gálvez, Jorge de Escobedo, Tadeo Haenke, Felipe Bauzá, and Félix de Azara—in the record of the expedition. None of these names, however, is more interesting than that of Antonio de Ulloa, who was a protector and mentor of Malaspina and whose works (his confidential report of 1749 on Peru as well as his published works) were frequently cited in Malaspina's reports. Because it gives such evidences of the continuity of the Spanish colonial reform movement and the relation of that movement to the European enlightenment, as well as for many other reasons, the Malaspina expedition deserves far more attention than it has received from historians. Signs are not wanting that interest in this expedition and in other aspects of the reform movement is on the increase—witness the present volume, Justino Fernández's *Tomás de Suría y su viaje con Malaspina, 1791* (Mexico City, 1939), Lesley B. Simpson's *California in 1792—The Expedition of José Longinos Martínez* (Huntington Library Publications, 1938), and Arturo Arnaiz y Freg's "D. Fausto de Elhuyar y de Zubice" (in *Revista de Historia de América*, No. 6, August, 1939). It is to be hoped that these publications mark the beginning of a systematic

study of the movement for reform within the Spanish empire, a movement which the European enlightenment first did so much to create and subsequently did so much to frustrate and destroy.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

University of Pennsylvania.

Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696.

By ST. JULIEN RAVENEL CHILDS. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1940. Pp. xix, 292. \$2.50.)

This treatise is a good example of skillful coördination in two great fields, history and medicine, and the ability to transmute the material of associated fields of knowledge into an informing, logical, and comprehensive narrative. Though malaria is not a spectacular disease, few doctoral dissertations embrace so wide a range of major departments of knowledge and their branches. Here is one of the important examples of the broad scope of an author's versatility. He had to acquaint himself not only with the literature of the history of medicine, but had to familiarize himself as well with the clinical symptoms of malaria, the numerous varieties of malarial parasites, the simple and multiple infections, the vagaries of the inconsistencies of the parasite, the local variations exaggerated by idiosyncrasies of the different species, the detailed diagnosis, etc. The susceptibility of the disease to the influences of environment are noted, as climate and the weather, dryness and dampness, altitude and geographical location; the reactions of the disease to climate, to the density of population; the tolerance of the white man as contrasted with the Indian and the Negro; the intensity of the malady at the various ages of the victim; the part the mosquito plays in its spread; the biological details of the mosquito; the gestation and transmission of the plasmodia; all these lie within his ken. The treatise traverses zoology, biology, chemistry, medical lore, climatology, and geology, besides the social sciences.

The author had to overcome the lack of much desirable specific information and face the lack of contemporary scientific method by projecting the present day knowledge of the disease to the former period and draw his cautious conclusions indirectly from the inferences. In the sixteenth century malaria was not even known as a parasite disease and most of the medical practitioners were as much bewildered by its indications, and as helpless as to its treatment as were the victims themselves. Only within the span of our own gen-

eration was the bug isolated. This made it possible to re-write the history of malaria.

The "low country" of this volume embraces the coastal, or tide-water, area extending from peninsular Florida to Cape Hatteras, comprising what was once known as the "rice coast." It covers roughly the section from the vast Okefinokee Swamp in present southern Georgia, on the south, to Hatteras, where the Pamlico Sound cuts far back into the coastal contour. Thus are rice, swamp land, colonization, and malaria intimately identified not only in the social history, but also in the destinies of the Carolina Low Country.

Pursuing a consistent synthesis, the second chapter, under the title, "A Graveyard for Colonies, 1526-1565," describes the well-known early expeditions and temporary settlements in Florida and Georgia, in which leading European countries, as Spain and France, for example, were reaching out to America in search of wealth and conquest. Chapter III, captioned "Costly Conquests," carries these activities forward from 1565 to 1580, and describes the great pestilence that raged in Florida. Contemporary reports and official records with non-official writings are the chief sources. Chapter IV, "The Peopling of Ashley River, 1670-1677," brings the narrative to the permanent settlements on Ashley River in 1669-70, embracing new attempts at conquest by the English. This settlement, like the larger Spanish settlement of 1565, was a private enterprise, legalized by royal grants and contracts. It forms the logical background for Chapter V, "Public Health at Ashley River, 1670-1677," and Chapter VI, "The Promotion of Immigration, 1678-1684." These sections show what effect the abundance or scarcity of available information on malaria has on the attention devoted to the disease, and the effects of rising and falling tides of immigration on its prevalence and intensity. In Chapter VII, "The Triumph and Decline of Malaria, 1682-1696," the subject matter comes to direct focus. The author holds that malaria became epidemic at Ashley River in 1682 and possibly several years before, though the extant official records do not mention it. The epidemic of 1684, known as the "Great Sickness," was particularly severe, its percentage of fatalities, aided by other sicknesses, reaching the highest so far in South Carolina. The "sanitary law" of 1685, the first extant legislation of its kind in South Carolina, was probably the result of the epidemic. The subsequent decline of immigration to this section seems to have contributed to the improvement of public health, especially marked from 1694 to 1696. Moreover, the two decades from 1676 to 1696 find more and better practitioners in the Carolina Low Country, when physicians, surgeons and apoth-

ecaries became known alike by the courtesy title of "doctor." Many of these men mixed farming with "practicing." Though little is known about the remedies prescribed by these physicians for malaria, the supposition is that they followed in general the procedure of European medical practice. The bark containing quinine seems to play a major rôle throughout. But the prohibitive price put upon it by its scarcity forced many to turn to sassafras or horse dung posset.

The year 1696 marks the close of an era in the history of disease in the Carolina Low Country. The decreasing severity of malaria from 1685 to 1696 is an example of how society may by adaptation, and without much expert medical aid, not only reduce the widespread symptoms of an endemic disease, but also accept it as a matter of necessary routine. It seems that malaria was never powerful enough to determine social patterns and was not strong enough to prove successful against the economic ambitions of man.

The volume is heavily annotated. The footnotes contain a wealth of information supplemental to the text and yield an astonishing abundance of source references.

ARTHUR H. HIRSCH.

Chicago, Illinois.

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920. 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939-1940. Pp. lxii + 801. \$1.50. Pp. xl + 576. \$1.25.)

These two volumes constitute a major supplement to the published correspondence of the United States for the period of the World War. They contain an extensive selection from the large body of correspondence of Robert Lansing which was secured for the files of the Department of State after Mr. Lansing's death in 1928. These papers were thus not available for publication when the Department compiled the *Foreign Relations* volumes for the years 1914-1919, together with the supplementary volumes on the World War and on Russia. In the present volumes, papers from the Lansing collections have been supplemented with related documents from other official sources. *The Lansing Papers* are thus to be regarded as supplementary to correspondence previously published in the *Foreign Relations* series.

It is not surprising therefore that the volumes under review cover a wide range of subjects. All of Volume I and 300 pages of Volume II contain correspondence concerned directly with the World War. Among the subjects here dealt with are: efforts at neutralization of the Far East, American peace proposals, the attitude of the United

States toward methods of warfare employed by the belligerents, the conduct of foreign diplomats in the United States, policy as involved in the sale of munitions and the making of loans to belligerents, the enforcement of American neutrality, relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary leading to the severance of diplomatic relations and the outbreak of the war.

From the above topics special mention should be made of the chapter on enforcement of American neutrality. [I, 151.] Here are printed a number of significant memoranda by Lansing, the earliest being written at the time when he was Counselor of the Department. Wilson's plea for neutrality in thought as well as in action was made on August 18, 1914. On August 9, 1914, Lansing in a memorandum to Bryan raised the question whether it would

not be appropriate and expedient for the President at the present time to publish a public address to the American people urging them to preserve in every way a strict neutrality and to be discreet in public expressions either in the press or otherwise showing bias or sympathy with any one of the countries at war. [I, 151.]

Of special interest too is Lansing's detailed memorandum (December 9, 1914) in reply to the case of German anti-administration sentiment as expressed in a letter of Professor Hugo Münsterberg (November 19, 1914) to President Wilson.

Open participation [said Lansing] in the discussion of our domestic politics and of our foreign policies by agents of a European monarchy, whether they are official or self-appointed, cannot but arouse antagonism to a power who will permit its subjects to forget their obligations as alien visitors owing a temporary allegiance to the United States and to seek openly to create political opposition to the Government. [I, 167.]

The correspondence on the World War concludes with the extensive report of General Tasker H. Bliss, military representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council. General Bliss discusses at length the problems both military and political which for long prevented unity of control or command among the Allies.

Supplementary correspondence on Russia, relative in particular to the origins of the Siberian intervention, reveals that as late as March 24, 1918, Lansing favored leaving the Siberian intervention, if undertaken, to Japan as the mandatory of the Allied and Associated Powers. "In the circumstances are not Japan's sensibilities more important than the sensibilities of the Russian people?" [II, 358.]

Correspondence on the Far East throws additional light on official American thought on the Twenty-one Demands. Writing to President Wilson (February 22, 1915) Secretary Bryan observed: "I

am not sure but what it would be worth while for China to agree to the cession of Manchuria to Japan if, by so doing, she could secure freedom as to the rest of the country." [II, 406.]

The concluding pages of Volume II are devoted to Latin America. Lansing as Counselor of the Department submitted to Bryan (June 16, 1914) a memorandum arguing for a restatement of the Monroe Doctrine.

Do not modern ideals and aims of government in the United States require us to abandon the purely selfish principle, which has so long controlled our policies in dealing with other American nations, and to adopt more altruistic and humanitarian principles, which will be in harmony with the sense of fraternal responsibility, which is increasingly dominant in all our international relations. [II, 465.]

It must be concluded that *The Lansing Papers* enrich substantially our knowledge of the bases of American policy during the World War years.

PAUL H. CLYDE.

Duke University.

Bibliography of the Island of Guam. Edited by CHARLES F. REID; NATHAN HABIB, VERNE JAY, CARLO SIMONINI, associate editors. (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1939. Pp. 102. \$1.50.)

This list of some two thousand items is the first to be completed of a series of annotated bibliographies of the territories and outlying possessions of the United States, now being compiled by the New York City "white collar" branch of the Works Progress Administration. (The general editor is at the College of the City of New York.) A large staff of workers combed the Library of Congress and "over four hundred and fifty libraries in New York City" for books, and made some examination of printed bibliographies. Over five thousand periodicals and five hundred government documents of the United States, Spain, and Germany were exploited by handling or the use of indices. Some manuscripts are included, from the Library of Congress or the sales catalogs of a London dealer.

The items discuss all aspects of the island's life and history, from aeronautics to zoölogy. Entries have the form developed by the publishers for their other bibliographical works. They are arranged alphabetically by subjects, with no cross references or author or subject indices.

From the viewpoint of an historian-bibliographer, many criticisms must be made. This reviewer does not like the bibliographical hash of the entries, though he acknowledges its merits as to brevity. No one will enjoy the lack of indices, since items of "historical" value

occur almost anywhere, and some of the classification is at least debatable. Inclusion of unlocated manuscript from a dealer's catalogs is ridiculous, and failure to locate at least one copy of a book is regrettable. The section "Bibliography" omits valuable bibliographies on the Philippines, many of which have materials on Guam. [Cf. Nos. 5567-5610, 5623, in H. P. Beers, *Bibliographies in American History* (New York, 1938); add Pedro Vindel, *Biblioteca oriental* (2 v., Madrid, 1911-1912) and the list of materials in the New York Public Library on the Chamorro language—*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, XIII (1909), 470-477]. Apparently the compilers never heard of the Ayer collection in Chicago, the private library of the late James A. Robertson, or the great collection by Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands* (55 v., 1903-1909). The scholarly reviews of Spain and of the Jesuits seem not to have been examined.

But such criticism, though justified and necessary from the specialist's viewpoint, does not deny the great value of the compilation. No basic, separately printed, historical account is missing, and even specialists will find unknown works in almost any field. The analyses of English language periodicals, government documents, and general works would alone make the book worth while. The reviewer heartily recommends it to all students and reference librarians. He will look forward to completion of the series.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY

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Los Angeles.

Bibliography of Latin-American Folklore. By RALPH STEELE BOGGS. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1940. Pp. x, 109. \$1.50.)

The title of this work is a trifle misleading. The author himself describes it accurately in his preface as "a partial guide to the field." As such it will undoubtedly be heartily welcomed and much used. Dr. Boggs' bibliography is well known to all Latin-Americanists and even a partial publication of it must be a source of gratification.

The arrangement of the material is convenient. There is a section on bibliographies, followed by a list of periodicals, society transactions, etc., to be considered as sources. Then comes a section of general works, subdivided by country, followed by special topics, again subdivided by country. There is also an index.

As a guide to the sources in this field this book should be very useful, particularly to librarians whose collections are somewhat limited, so that they do not themselves have an opportunity to examine much of the source material. It should also be immensely valuable

to students just beginning to work, in helping them to get their bearings.

The price is reasonable and the binding is fair, though perhaps a little light for the heavy wear it will certainly have to withstand.

MIRIAM BLAISDALE KETCHUM.

Bureau of American Ethnology,
Smithsonian Institution.

Guia da Secção Historica do Museu Paulista. By AFFONSO DE E. TAUNAY. (São Paulo: Imprensa Official do Estado, 1937. Pp. 122.)

The *Museu Paulista*, in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, is one of the most important institutions of its kind in all Latin America today. It has been housed since 1895 in the beautiful Bezzi palace, located on the hill, near the Ypiranga brook, where Dom Pedro the First proclaimed the separation of Brazil from Portugal in the afternoon of the 7th of September, 1822. Dr. Affonso de E. Taunay, the director of the Museum and the author of the *Guide* to its historical section herein reviewed, is the author of numerous essays on the historical evolution of his state and the greatest authority on the history of the *Bandeirantes*.

The *Guide* prepared by Dr. Taunay is a most valuable aid to the visitor of the *Museu Paulista*. It contains a brief historical introduction on the "Colina Sagrada" of Brazilian Independence and on the Museum, and twenty-three chapters describing the various rooms of the Museum illustrated with numerous excellent photographs.

The collections of the *Museu Paulista* are of particular value to the student of Brazilian history, ethnography, and art. There is a large group of paintings and drawings depicting important events, the life, customs, and dress of the inhabitants of São Paulo in early days, and many interesting objects of historical significance. The Museum has also a valuable cartographic collection, including maps and other documents of colonial days. Here is also found the original of the *Ensaio de Carta Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas* prepared by Dr. Taunay. Important are also the Bartholomeu Lourenço de Gusmão and Santos Dumont exhibits, the former devoted to the inventor of the hot air aerostat who carried out his experiments in the early years of the eighteenth century; and the latter to the great aeroplane pioneer of the early years of the present century.

The *Museu Paulista* has also valuable zoölogical, botanical, mineralogical, and palaeontological collections. The first mentioned is said to be the largest of its kind in all South America. The Library

of the Museum has about fifty thousand volumes, mostly on natural sciences.

RAUL D'EÇA.

The George Washington University.

The Religious Architecture of New Mexico in the Colonial Period and Since the American Occupation. By GEORGE KUBLER. (Colorado Springs: The Taylor Museum, 1940. Pp. ix, 232. \$5.00.)

This year marks the four-hundredth anniversary of Coronado's expedition to New Mexico. During these four hundred years numerous churches have been built in the region, the greater part of which date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These George Kubler has studied with great care and deep understanding and published the results in a volume which will be the definitive book on the subject. Much interesting work has already been done in regard to the New Mexican churches. Rexford Newcomb, the Historic American Buildings Survey, Lansing B. Bloom, and France Scholes had each treated the subject from a different viewpoint: Kubler's book unites these viewpoints and contributes a wealth of new information.

The problem is the analysis of a style of architecture, introduced by the Spanish Franciscans in the sixteenth century, which continues without modification until the nineteenth, and which in recent years has been faithfully resumed. The New Mexican churches represent a backwater of the main current of Latin-American colonial architecture, a style apart from the great viceregal tradition. Like the chapels of northern Argentina and those of Minas Gerais in Brazil they have the charm of extreme simplicity and a primitive use of materials at hand. But unlike the South American buildings they have a strong indigenous quality, for they are closely related to a native American style of architecture.

Fortified by 220 illustrations, many of which are maps, plans, and clearcut diagrams, the text develops this thesis in a masterful fashion. There are three main sections. The first is a richly documented statement of the historical background, in which the author discusses the whole problem of the settlement, the ecclesiastical administration, and the technique of labor. The latter is a subject on which, thanks to his discovery of a unique manuscript, he is the preëminent authority.¹ There follows a scientific point-by-point analysis of the architecture, which, though exhaustively thorough, is so clearly organized

¹ The rebuilding of San Miguel at Santa Fe in 1710. Contributions of the Taylor Museum, Colorado Springs, 1939. The manuscript is in the Huntington Library at San Marino, California.

and simply stated as to be perfectly apparent to the casual reader. In the third section Mr. Kubler writes a detailed history of each church and submits a chronological chart of the buildings on each site.

The New Mexican churches are simply constructed either of adobe without the reinforcement of fired bricks or of loosely laid field stone with adobe mortar (Acoma, Laguna, Guisewa). The roofing, moldings, and many important interior elements are all of wood. In their mass they follow the single-nave Mexican sixteenth-century fortified churches of the Franciscan order. But they are without the rhythmic fenestration, buttresses, and the arches, vaults, and cupolas of the Mexican models. The traditions of Indian construction in New Mexico rejected these European innovations. A unique device of a transverse clerestory window between the transept and the nave is developed. To provide a maximum of light for this window, the buildings generally face the south or the east. The apse is square or polygonal, never round. Special height is given to the sanctuary (perhaps to make up for the suppressed cupola of the Mexican prototypes?). Balconies between the two pylons of the façade are a feature of their style rarely encountered in Old Mexico. But open chapels, common in Mexico at this time, were built throughout the region.

Mr. Kubler, who is an instructor in the Yale School of Fine Arts, and a pioneer in the field of Latin-American art, has recently received a grant from the Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies to complete a study of Mexican architecture of the sixteenth century. It is to be hoped that he will be able bit by bit to put together the whole record of the great effort of colonial building in Latin America, a history long needed, and of which this present volume is a most brilliant beginning.

Hispanic Foundation,
Library of Congress.

ROBERT C. SMITH.

Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. By A. L. KROEBER. [University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 38.] (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. xii, 1-242. 28 maps. Cloth, \$3.50; Paper, \$3.00.)

This publication merits more than mention in a periodical devoted to history. It deserves to stand beside Webb's *The Great Plains* which was recently voted the most significant contribution to historical method within two decades. The approach is much the same in each, an intimate examination of the geography of an area in which culture

climaxes have been observed. Webb examined both Indian and white cultures in the Plains, while Kroeber reviews the whole of North America but confines his discussion to aboriginal cultures, historic, proto-historic and prehistoric. Each hoped to find an open road to interpret the phenomena in a new and better way. Both are cautious in not giving the factors of geography the direct causative rôle in the shaping of cultures, both recognize that the diffusion of culture complexes from without resulted in a central climax of culture development; both have difficulty with the two rather incompatible concepts, (1) that culture is a unit and (2) that there is an obvious variety of complexes in a culture that play what seem to be independent rôles, thus negating the unity which is felt necessary to explain the apparent climax.

Kroeber's method is to divide the continent into ecological areas, that is into regions of approximate homogeneous patches in which ecological conditions will be approximately uniform. He is highly critical of past attempts to divide the continent into culture regions, but found some difficulty in breaking down the assumedly more stable environment comprising altitude, topography, soil, temperature, rainfall, winds, seasons, plant coverage, and fauna. His sixteen or more geographical areas are about as stubborn to fit up systematically as his own new culture areas, probably because his geographical area is less homogeneous than a culture region.

However, what the author does is to offer a reasoned interpretation of culture climaxes as a fit to some aspects of these geographical or ecological areas. There is no great difficulty in showing that they are consistent, the one with the other, because the historian is interpreting what is believed to have happened in a given place and time. He is not trying to foretell the future, nor is he willing to say that nothing else could have happened there at the time. Kroeber seems to accept the assumption that a culture must include techniques for successful living and that these must be realities for dealing with real situations in specific times and places. Then to agree that when a technique is found to work fairly well the tendency is for the use of this technique to spread wherever the environment is approximately the same. This would seem a sufficient scientific explanation of culture areas.

However, the author is interested in a dynamic interpretation of culture history or culture change, which he expresses by the climax concept. He advocates the reconsideration of this discarded historical concept and the rating of cultures as to intensity and content. He favors the concept of culture periodicity and climax cycles, feeling that climax parallels between the Old and New Worlds are demon-

strable. Finally, he hesitatingly favors the idea that there is a universal climax pattern which repeats itself over and over.

There is more in this thought-provoking book than these trifling observations suggest. If it has a weakness, it is that delayed publication has lead to the ignoring of important current contributions, for new data are apt to call for a modification of reasoned historical interpretations; such can never be final. For example, the implications of the recently discovered pre-maize agriculture in the Mississippi Valley by the archeologist Webb and his associates will necessitate a reinterpretation of the course of agriculture in that region.

CLARK WISSLER.

American Museum of Natural History.

Indians of the Americas: Historical Pageant. By EDWIN R. EMBREE.
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. About 70 Drawings by Howard Grieg. Pp. 260. \$2.75.)

This book is dynamic and appealing. Though close to fact it makes use of free narrative and the sampling method. Thus the following culture groups of New World aborigines are presented: Maya, Aztec, Inca, Plains, Iroquois and Pueblo, the best known and the most spectacular of all Indian types. Two brief introductory chapters orient the reader by recapitulating the mastery of the continent by a flood of white population and by an earlier tide of mongoloid peoples from Asia which covered the empty land from Point Barrow to Cape Horn. A brief résumé of the culture achievements of the aborigines before 1492 is given. Like everyone, the author finds it difficult to understand why such important inventions as the wheel and iron were wanting in the New World, but offers an apology for the Indians by citing their isolation, that they had no one to borrow from but themselves. Then follow some two hundred pages of text given to an exposition of the six types of Indian cultures mentioned above. As usual the attempt is to reproduce the life of the past before the whites created a new environment and so made it impossible for the Indian to follow the old ways of life. In the case of the Maya this is achieved by liberal reconstruction allowing the imagination to reproduce expected scenes in the assumed life of the time. The same method is used in the accounts of the other chosen types of culture, but with greater certainty since more data are available for their reconstructions. Nevertheless the author has been conservative in these restorations, keeping as close to the data as one could expect. Hence, the reader can take what is offered in confidence that it presents at least an approximate picture of aboriginal life consistent with

the data available. The account of the Pueblo Indians is based in part upon an almost forgotten classic in historical fiction, Bandelier's "The Delight Makers." It is hoped that the reader of this volume will also read the entire narrative of Bandelier.

Finally there is a brief statement of the present condition of the Indian in the United States and his prospects. The present Indian Policy is commented upon favorably, but not critically appraised.

The author's sympathy is with the Indians, the destruction of whose cultures he declares to be a crime against the spirit of the respective peoples. He regards their cultures as modes of life guaranteeing full and happy lives to the individuals concerned. He hopes that the present United States Indian policy will bring it to pass that the various tribal communities can retain their language and their traditional attitude toward life and nature, and at the same time permit an economical and social adjustment to the United States which will permit them to survive as communities. Whether this is possible without direct government economic support remains to be demonstrated. The chief hurdle promises to be economic competition with the white people around them.

However we should not overlook the author's chief concern as to "how diverse people may live together happily and successfully in this rapidly shrinking world." He thinks information as to how different peoples live is the necessary first step in the solution of this difficult problem. This is the spirit of the book.

CLARK WISSLER.

American Museum of Natural History.

Archaeology of Santa Marta, Colombia. By J. ALDEN MASON. Appendix on Ceramic Technology by DONALD HORTON. [Anthropological Series, Field Museum of Natural History, Vol. XX, No. 3.] (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1939. Pp. 275-418. Figs. 26. Pls. 85. \$2.50.)

Dr. Mason has contributed substantially to our knowledge of Colombian archaeology in this third volume of a series of four on his investigations in the Santa Marta district of Colombia. The first volume, Part I, appeared as Volume 20, No. 1, of the Anthropological Series of the Field Museum, and described the field operations. The second, Vol. 20, No. 2, covered the finds of stone, bone, and metal and was the first section of Part II. This volume, the second section of Part II, analyzes the pottery and clay objects, and a fourth volume, soon to appear, will be Part III on the synthesis and conclusions.

The treatment of this section is a model presentation of data. The abundant drawings and photographs record exhaustively the range of shape and decoration of the different wares. Mr. Horton's technical analysis gives a secure basis for determining local and imported wares and constitutes a valuable contribution to archaeological publication, all too frequently neglected in most reports.

Dr. Mason found his material for the most part in graves or in houses or ceremonial sites. There was no evidence of deep refuse beds suitable for stratigraphic dissection. There is hope, however, that through the association of objects in the graves, some sort of typological sequence will be developed. Dr. Mason's impression, however, was that the sites were neither of long duration nor of great antiquity.

The third part, the fourth volume in the series, will be awaited anxiously by workers in the field of South and Middle America. Here, after the able and exhaustive factual treatment of the materials found, Dr. Mason will set forth his conclusions as to their significance. The author's erudite sanity with which he has always approached problems of this nature, will make the conclusions a suitable culmination to the presentation of the material culture. The relationships between South and Middle America have always been a tantalizing problem for archaeologists, and Dr. Mason is setting a firm basis for their solution.

GEORGE C. VAILLANT.

The American Museum of Natural History.

Mexico at the Bar of Public Opinion. A Survey of Editorial Opinion in Newspapers of the Western Hemisphere. By BURT M. McCONNELL. (New York: Mail and Express Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. viii, 320. \$1.00.)*

So much has happened throughout the world since Mexico expropriated the foreign oil properties on March 18, 1938, that it seems like ancient history to delve into *Mexico at the Bar of Public Opinion*.

Mr. Burt M. McConnell did much conscientious work in assorting newspaper extracts, undoubtedly aided by a good clipping bureau. As he points out in the preface, he was a member of *The Literary Digest* staff from 1919 to 1929. He offers other pertinent facts:

In looking over the field of troublesome public questions which might be treated in the old *Literary Digest* manner, none seemed of greater import to the America

* The custom of delimited reviews is abandoned in this instance in order to publish Mr. Lander's fresh analysis and additional information in the form of a review article.

of tomorrow than Mexico's treatment of United States citizens. The author approached the Standard Oil Company (N. J.) with the proposal that he prepare . . . an editorial digest of American newspaper opinion concerning Mexico's confiscation of American-owned property. The company financed the undertaking. The copy . . . is the work of the author.

This explanation does credit to the author and his sponsors. The reader knows in advance how the book came to be written. There is no attempt to camouflage it so that one might think it came from some source not directly concerned in the controversy.

Reading of the book tends to produce the following impressions:

Mexico under Cárdenas became very radical; a wave of strikes developed; the "labor squeeze" was invented; the foreign oil companies were victims of an unjust decision in the Mexican Supreme Court; they were obviously unable to comply with it. Suddenly the President, violating both the Mexican constitution and international law, expropriated the oil properties. The Mexican peso collapsed; costs of living skyrocketed; food crops failed. The "Good Neighbor" policy was put into jeopardy; American investment in all Latin America were endangered. The tourist traffic into Mexico all but ceased. Prospect of Cárdenas' overthrow by revolution increased. In spite of all this, the United States continued subsidizing Mexico by its silver-purchase program. The State Department should get busy and do something firm about this. Since Mexico cannot pay for the properties, they obviously should be returned to their former owners.

Now some of the above is very true, but much has proved wrong in the course of time. It seems that Mr. McConnell made a mistake of judgment in adapting the old *Literary Digest* style to book form. It might have been all right for a weekly, or even a monthly publication, but certainly not for a book.

There is some good material in it, especially quotations dealing with the effect of the expropriation on the "Good Neighbor" policy and how it endangered American investments throughout Latin America. The effect of Cárdenas' actions has undoubtedly been profound and far-reaching. The new Nicaraguan constitution provides for expropriation; Costa Rica, Bolivia and other countries have already tried it, and Colonel Fulgencio Batista has been urged to adopt it in Cuba. But to read all the predictions of possible starvation, overthrow of the government, the importance of Trotsky as an "advisor" to Cárdenas and all such things which have been proved to be

entirely without foundation, merely serves to prove that newspapers cannot be used uncritically for historical research. The advertising columns are much more reliable than the news columns of old papers. This is especially true in these days of rapid communication, and the axiom that news is a perishable commodity—which is no good except when fresh—is truer than ever. Here is a sample:

Many observers anticipate a civil war in Mexico. The *Houston Chronicle*, in the border state of Texas, makes this observation: "When the loss of revenue, due to seizure of the oil properties, is added to the previously existing causes of unrest, the danger of an uprising by dissatisfied elements is magnified."

As a matter of fact, the expropriation—despite the fact it brought with it devaluation of the peso and intensified the depression which started with the crop failures of 1937—caused Mexicans of all classes to rally around their President. Many who made no pretense of hiding their opinion that Cárdenas had made a great mistake, declared that, since the question was of international character, they had but one course to take: to support Mexico. Even the Catholic Church, traditionally opposed to Mexico's left-wing governments, openly supported Cárdenas. The deduction of Mr. McConnell—and the editorials and articles which he quotes from—are plausible in the realm of logic, but one must not lose sight of the fact that logic disappears in Mexico when questions of "national dignity" arise.

The oil situation is so complicated that nobody can put his finger on any one phase of it and say: "This is what caused the expropriation." Nevertheless there is one important factor which is completely overlooked in *Mexico at the Bar of Public Opinion*. I refer to what happened in the hectic days following the Supreme Court decision of March 1, 1938.

The companies had sought an injunction in the Supreme Court against the Labor Board decision (of December 18, 1937) which ordered them to pay increased wages for their eighteen thousand workers of about twenty-six million pesos (then \$7,222,222) annually and compelled them to submit to other regulations which the companies contended amounted to taking the management of their own properties away from them. They also contended that the new wage scale, if put into effect, would in reality increase their pay-rolls by about forty million pesos (\$11,111,111) instead of the twenty-six million mentioned by the Labor Board.

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, head of the Confederation of Mexican Workers (CTM), in a speech at its national convention on February 22, 1938, predicted how the Supreme Court would rule and went on to say: "Soon the moment will arrive when the Government

of Mexico and the laborers must supplant the companies. We are ready to accept the technical, material, moral and historical responsibility which this involves." On the twenty-fourth, a commission of the Petroleum Workers Union visited the justices and asked them to decide the case in their favor. On the twenty-eighth, Mexico City newspapers practically announced that the decision would be against the companies. So it was no surprise when the petition of the foreign oil companies was denied by a 4 to 0 vote on March 1, 1938.

Now, it is all right for a Mexican to make fun of the Supreme Court of Mexico and talk about how it reaches its decisions—but Mexicans will not tolerate that foreigners do so. When the companies on the night of March 1 announced that they were unable to comply with the verdict, they immediately provoked a patriotic reaction in the country.

Company officials then held eleventh-hour interviews with General Cárdenas to see if they could make some arrangement to avoid complying with the court's order! Cárdenas adamantly insisted on the necessity of upholding the highest court of the land. "The government will irrevocably follow the course which the law determines," an official announcement said.

What is more, the companies in a district court sought an injunction against the Supreme Court's decision—something which sounds impossible, but which Mexican lawyers consider routine. A temporary restraining "suspension" was issued by Judge Manuel Bartlett, on March 8. This move proved to be a boomerang against the companies. By that time, labor and all official Mexico and even the Conservative newspapers were solidly against the petroleum interests—which began to be called "the rebellious companies," and all the old diatribes against the "foreign imperialists" were revived.

While Mr. McConnell claims that his quotations are taken from newspapers of the "western hemisphere," it so happens that he quotes nothing from what the Mexican press had to say during those days. He might, for instance, have quoted the leading independent daily *El Universal*, which on March 10 said:

"A serious study of the facts induces the belief that the problem can have but one natural legal outcome—the companies' submission to the authorities. No national would dare resist; no foreigner can evade submission, because if he were allowed to do so, legislation and the courts would be ridiculed and the sovereignty of the country would be stained and endangered."

On March 12 Judge Bartlett denied the companies' request for a permanent injunction, as his earlier "suspension" expired. Still the

companies refused to comply, and so notified the Federal Labor Board on March 15. The Board, at the request of the Petroleum Workers Union, thereupon declared the companies to be outlaws—or “in rebellion” as they say in Spanish. The CTM that night announced it had agreed on various “radical proposals.” It was not long before some aspects of its tactics came to light. On the sixteenth the Petroleum Workers Union announced that all its members had severed their collective work contract with the companies because of their “rebellious attitude.”

That night things looked rather grim in Mexico. After a staff consultation in the United Press office, a dispatch was written which said in part:

The petroleum controversy took a sensational turn when the laborers decided to sever their connections with the foreign companies. . . . If the labor board grants the workers' request, then the companies will find themselves without employees' . . . and obliged to pay the lump sum of nearly \$39,000,000 (dollars) as severance wages. In case the companies refuse, then the laborers have the alternative of petitioning for the embargo of the companies' properties, or even their nationalization in accordance with Article 27 of the Constitution or their expropriation in the public interest in accordance with the Expropriation Law of 1935.

La Prensa of Mexico City the next day said the question “signifies the life or death of national independence.”

The Board received the workers' formal request for severance on March 17, and granted it on the eighteenth. At midnight of the eighteenth, relations between the companies and the workers were to end—but the laborers had been ordered to stay in the plants, in a modified “sit-down” strike. But by 10 p.m. Cárdenas was speaking on the radio, announcing the expropriation.

Little, if anything, of this crescendo of nationalistic feeling is mentioned in Mr. McConnell's book. Possibly his clipping bureau did not supply him with material therefor. There is still another explanation: the American press at that time was too busy with developments in Europe.

On March 3 another of the famed “Moscow Trials” had started, which ran until the thirteenth. Before that ended, another even bigger story “broke”—the annexation of Austria, which started on March 11 and reached its climax on the fifteenth when Hitler entered Vienna. On the eighteenth itself papers in the United States were full of Hitler's speech in the Reichstag at Berlin. Some of the correspondents in Mexico City that night were ordered by their editors to keep their dispatches short. In New York, the morning papers of

the nineteenth did have something on the expropriation, but it was not until the afternoon papers of that day that the story was really played up by the American press.

Thus, the circumstance that in its pre-expropriation stages the oil conflict was pushed off the front page by Stalin's and Hitler's doings, is partly responsible for the fact that even today the American reading public knows very little about it. It is too bad that Mr. McConnell in his book did not do something to fill in for the reader on what happened in that period between March 2 and March 18, 1938.

WILLIAM H. LANDER.

United Press,
Mexico, D.F.

BOOK NOTICES

La Vieja Casa de Pizarro. By EDUARDO MARTÍN-PASTOR. (Lima: Imprenta Torres Aguirre, 1938. Pp. 314.)

It is frequently difficult to classify Spanish-American books according to our own fixed categories. This work might be called novelistic if judged by its manner of presentation, in which excellent description, dramatic staging, and splendid Spanish style carry it to the level of the best contemporary literary productions. On the other hand, the subject is Peruvian history, and no personage or event appears which is not taken directly from the chronicles of the histories of the successive periods. The author has endeavored to give an impression of the whole panorama of Peruvian history as it might have been viewed from Pizarro's old palace which became, in turn, the symbol of power in the days of the civil wars, the "palace of the Viceroy," the "bivouac of the Liberators," the "headquarters of the *caudillos*," and finally the recent palace of government. This is clearly an ambitious undertaking and one in which it would be impossible to satisfy the specialist in each period of history through which Martín-Pastor follows the current of events. He has succeeded, however, in writing a fascinating and, on the whole, accurate story which gives color and life to the events viewed more dispassionately through more "scholarly" works. This is not "scholarly" but it is surprisingly detailed in parts and breathes a close acquaintance with the contemporary Spanish writings of the more than four centuries of Peruvian life it describes.

For the North American reader, this work has an immense value in imparting the spirit of Peruvian history. Only a *limeño*, imbued with the centuries-old traditions of his city, could tread so assuredly through the complicated ways of its history. Only a writer of considerable ability could have woven together a story of such interest with the only thread of continuity the existence of the palace of the Plaza de Armas. That palace, however, after dozens of architectural changes, still contains the fig tree Pizarro is supposed to have planted there, and as a symbol of their long history a proud and tradition-loving people have surrounded it with an aura. Eduardo Martín-Pastor is a young writer employed by a government department. The first edition of his work was released as a government publication

with a long bureaucratic preface which led one to believe it was merely another unit in the tons of useless material published every year by Spanish-American governments. The author's name did not even appear on the cover. The present edition, rescued by him, is the only one authorized and is free of the official trappings noted in the other. It contains very few errors and is well printed on a good grade of paper.

ROBERT E. MCNICOLL.

University of Miami.

Fuente Americana de la Historia Argentina. Descripción de la provincia de Cuyo. Cartas de los jesuitas mendocinos. By JUAN DRAGHI LUCERO. (Mendoza: Best Hermanos, 1940. Pp. xciv, 190.)

The Junta de Estudios Históricos de Mendoza here presents their third volume of source material dealing with the state of Mendoza. Drawing on the treasures of Santiago de Chile, they have made available to scholars the local story of a frontier society whose descendants would later on make a vital contribution to the rise of their great republic.

Cuyo in colonial times was the district just to the east of the Andean gateway of the Uspallata Pass. In republican days it was divided into Mendoza, San Juan and San Luis. Under Governor García de Mendoza of Chile the valley of Cuyo was discovered by Francisco de Villagrà in 1551, and the principal town then founded took its name from the governor. As the port of entry from the east to Chile, this settlement formed a center for the development of western Argentina. The documents here reproduced illuminate the first two centuries of that history.

The frontier growth in South America depended in large part on the activities of the missions. With no rivalries of sectarian opposition, and armed with the blessings of the court, the various religious orders built up civilization on many a borderland. Their records, then, naturally furnish the body of social, political and economic fact in that typically American adventure, and the historians of Argentina feel at home in the ecclesiastical narrative quite as well as in the accomplishment of the layman.

The hitherto published sources for this story, such as volume xxxiv of the *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* and Pastells' *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la provincia del Paraguay*, have been drawn from the papers of the religious orders or the public deposits of Madrid, Seville, Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro. The Mendoza Junta went a step further and investigated the rich holdings of the

Biblioteca y Archivo Nacional of Santiago de Chile. Thence were copied a group of letters and memorials written in the sixties, seventies and eighties of the eighteenth century, more particularly a set of six long epistles sent by an unidentified North American abbot to a colleague in Genoa. This gentleman put down for future memory an extensive picture of life in Cuyo from the earliest times. His work is supplemented by twenty-nine interesting letters written by the Jesuits who were expelled in the Spanish suppression of their society in 1767.

The volume is made especially useful by a learned introduction, the work of the secretary-general of the Junta, Señor Juan Draghi Lucero. He has highlighted the narrative latent in the documents by a careful exposition, and in his footnotes one may find cited or quoted the available colonial commentaries on the province of Cuyo. His contribution is complete and objective. His lists of expelled Jesuits will be helpful to the student of their suppression. Scholars in the history of South America will be grateful for this solid contribution to the already broad literature dealing with that continent.

W. EUGENE SHIELDS, S. J.

Loyola University, Chicago.

The Bonapartes in America. By CLARENCE EDWARD MACARTNEY and GORDON DORRANCE. (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1939. Pp. 286, \$3.00.)

This pleasantly discursive book brings together a great deal of quaint and curious lore about the activities of Napoleon Bonaparte and his clan in and in relation to the United States. Among many other things, it tells the reader how Jerome Bonaparte married Elizabeth Patterson of Baltimore and how that strong-minded lady behaved after he deserted her; how Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States; and how Charles Lucien, son of Lucien Bonaparte and an ornithologist of parts, befriended Audubon, introduced him to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, and was one of the first subscribers to his *Birds of America*. The authors apparently believed that nothing, no matter how small, relating to the Bonapartes was unworthy to be recorded. The same spirit inspired the sign on Joseph Bonaparte's Philadelphia home (shown in one of the many illustrations), which reads, "Joseph Bonaparte Rented This House for Two Years."

"America" in the title means the United States, and Latin America is mentioned only in connection with Bonapartist activities in this country. Nevertheless, one of the few parts of the book that are

based on the authors' study of source materials is one which tells how the republican revolt of 1817 at Pernambuco was linked with efforts of Bonapartists in the United States to rescue Napoleon from St. Helena. The names of such notables as Stephen Girard, William Cobbett, Stephen Decatur, and Lord Cochrane appear in the records of the plot, which gave real concern to the authorities of France, England, and Brazil. If the authors had dug more deeply into the sources at this and other points, they would have added greatly to the interest as well as the value of their book.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

University of Pennsylvania.

Iconografía de O'Higgins. By EUGENIO ORREGO VICUÑA. (Printed for the University of Chile by the Dirección General de Prisiones, Santiago, 1937. Pp. 96 + [3].)

Iconografía de San Martín. By EUGENIO ORREGO VICUÑA. (Printed for the University of Chile by the Dirección General de Prisiones, Santiago, 1938. Pp. 218 + [3]. \$2.60.)

The author and editor of these volumes is well known as editor, historian, critic, essayist, traveler, and dramatist. His present offering introduces him to the public in a new field of activity but one in which he is by no means a tyro.

The plan of the editor-compiler is in each case virtually identical. After first explaining his purpose, he gives a brief iconographic panorama of his subject in which he describes the types and character of the pictures and other memorabilia with which he proposes to deal. This is followed by a chapter on the "relics" of each hero, and in the case of O'Higgins by a critical discussion of the two types of portraits that have survived. One is based upon an actual painting by the contemporary artist, José Gil, who also executed San Martín's portrait, while the other represents an official idealized delineation. The compiler then gives a historical sketch of his subject—less necessary, perhaps, in the case of San Martín than of O'Higgins. With the sketch of the former he gives a three-page autobiography based on one of San Martín's own letters. Each subject is given a personal bibliography, but the editor also favors San Martín with a series of pen sketches by contemporary or later writers, as well as a long series of anecdotes showing his character, peculiarities, and public connections. In the San Martín volume he also draws an interesting comparison between that leader and O'Higgins. In the iconography itself, the author gives seventy-five cuts relating to O'Higgins, the chief

events of his life, his medals, stamps, effigies, scenes from important historical events, statues and a few family portraits. San Martín receives some sixty-eight cuts of similar character, and in addition a long list of letters, proclamations and other documents, together with certain legal declarations such as his will and the official statement of his death.

The two volumes are intended primarily for the specialist, but the general reader would profit from the biographical sketches, and the pictures, while hardly suitable for further reproduction, illustrate phases of contemporary painting and statuary, and give a national interpretation to important battles and other significant historical events. Thus they form a useful addition to any collection of memorabilia relating to the Wars of Independence.

ISAAC J. COX.

Northwestern University.

Causas celebres a los precursores. ("Derechos del Hombre," Pesquisa de sublevación, pasquines sediciosas.) *Copias fieles y exactas de los originales que se guardan en el Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla), compulsadas y cotejadas por José Manuel Pérez Sarmiento.* Tomo I [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, Vol. LIX.] (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1939. Pp. xviii, 535.)

This installment of a collection of sources concerning revolutionary activities in the viceroyalty of New Granada in the last decade of the eighteenth century prints a series of documents recently found in the Archivo General de Indias. Volume one of the projected series publishes documents dealing more or less directly with the suit against Antonio Nariño and others on account of the publication in Bogotá of the "Derechos del Hombre." One hundred and eighty-four papers bearing dates from 1794 to 1800 are now displayed to the public gaze. Señor Pérez Sarmiento states that these voluminous papers are being printed in the exact order in which they were found in the Casa Lonja, with the same orthography, and with the original marginal annotations. Although without any editorial notes, these papers are preceded by a brief introduction by the editor. Aside from its bearing on seditious tendencies in New Granada, this volume furnishes sidelights on conditions in that viceroyalty near the end of the colonial régime.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

University of Illinois.

La Sociedad de Santiago en el Siglo XVII. By DOMINGO AMUNÁTEGUI SOLAR. (Printed for the University of Chile by the Dirección General de Prisiones, Santiago de Chile, 1937. Pp. 310.)

Pipiolos y Pelucones. By DOMINGO AMUNÁTEGUI SOLAR. (Printed for the University of Chile by Imprenta y Litografía Universo, S. A., 1939. Pp. 199.)

Señor Amunátegui springs from a family that has added lustre to the political, educational, and literary life of Chile—a record that his own previous work has done much to confirm. In the present as in earlier offerings he follows in the footsteps of his father and uncle by interpreting for us some of the more obscure phases of Chilean history during the colonial and early national periods. In this respect his first volume is doubly welcome, for the seventeenth century has been a period altogether too much neglected.

The author introduces his first volume by sketching general economic and social conditions in the Spanish colonies. These presupposed, according to his interpretation, a system of autocratic socialism which, he believes, was necessary to further conquest, control trade, develop resources and establish Spanish culture in the New World. Furthermore, this necessity serves to justify the greater use of force on the part of the *encomenderos* of Chile. The Indians there were less cultured than those of Mexico and of Peru, were less amenable to “reduction,” and at the outset less productive. Furthermore, the remote position of Chile neutralized many of the royal regulations that were designed to amend the abuses of the *encomienda* system.

The author devotes the major part of his text to the proceedings of the *cabildo* in Santiago. This was one of the three agencies—the others being the governor or captain-general, and the *audiencia*—upon which political and administrative affairs in the colony rested. His narration is annalistic rather than topical in treatment, but his summary of municipal records proves unexpectedly rich in social and economic details for the colony as well as the capital. One learns much from his pages of attempts to fix prices, to restrict luxury in food and dress, to control occupations, whether of physician-barbers or of ecclesiastics, to administer public charity with due regard to the wishes and needs of *encomenderos* in country or *vecinos* in town. One notes that seats in the town council were first filled by election and later by public auction. Finally the *cabildo*, by acting on occasion as a transmitting body for other provincial centers, puts the reader, as well as contemporary authorities of the period, in touch with general colonial affairs. Those who hesitate to wade through

the dusty and often illegible tomes of the original records may get something of their flavor in this brief summary.

The seventeenth century, as Amunátegui permits us to interpret it, does not present a bright or alluring picture. This is particularly true of the mid years when Araucanian wars engage the attention of the *cabildo*. The final years of the century mark some improvement, although the wars continue and earthquakes and English and Dutch pirates add their quotas to the general misery. The turn of the century ushers in an extensive immigration of Vizcayans and Navarrese, and registers the establishment of the first *mayorazgos* on the earlier *encomienda* system. The author closes the volume with a summarized interpretation of the conditions set forth in his selections. Chile is only a remote, backward colony and its capital town a poor promise of future importance.

In his *Pipiolos y Pelucones*, Don Domingo pays his respects to a little-understood period of Chilean history. Unlike most of its neighbors, Chile had a comparatively brief experience of political turmoil, between the fall of O'Higgins and the definite triumph of the Conservative party in 1830. Accordingly, he sketches in this volume some of the men of the period who in view of conditions which confronted them have not received full justice for their activities. The term *pipiolo* implies a person who is more or less unsteady in his habits or convictions, and was applied by their enemies to the Liberals of the period. On the other hand, the *pelucón* is a Conservative, one for instance who clings to the *peluca* or wig long after it has gone out of fashion. The author is manifestly favorable to the former group, but he seeks to make all his sketches objective.

The major part of the book is given to Juan Egaña and his son, Mariano, leaders of the wars of independence who never shook off their eighteenth-century background. Another sketch treats briefly of Diego José Benavente, associated with the Egañas and likewise with Portales, who also is briefly appraised, as is Carlos Rodríguez Ordoiza, brother of the more famous Manuel Rodríguez.

Of the Egañas, the father, Juan, is best known as author of the Constitution of 1823, which suggests an attempt to reconstruct an early Greek state, and closely follows in form the French Constitution of 1793, although far removed from it in spirit. It was rejected before it was really tried, and its failure virtually ended the political life of its author. This failure gave José Miguel Infante, in 1826, the opportunity to present his plan for a confederated type of government. His constitution was based on that of the United States and

of Mexico, which in turn closely followed the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Like that of Egaña it promptly proved unworkable.

Mariano Egaña was not merely son in the flesh of his father but also his spiritual heir, equally attached to the past, painfully and strictly moralistic and conservative, thoroughly devoted to public welfare. He gained his earlier reputation through measures in behalf of public education. He also is given credit for the abolition of African slavery. A curious mixture of Catholic and regalist, he was sincerely attached to the struggle for independence. As minister to England he straightened out measures with respect to the public debt and engaged some of the men, including Andrés Bello, who were to have a profound effect upon public instruction in Chile. He was early opposed to Portales, and then on his return to Chile, joined the latter in establishing the Conservative régime, and later broke with him over his policy of bitter prosecution. Mariano Egaña's most significant work is his authorship of the Constitution of 1833.

Benavente seems a natural associate of the Egañas, supporting them in part, but occasionally actively opposing them, and later a firm supporter of autocratic rule in Chile. Aside from a seat in Congress, he held subordinate ministries and was especially noted for his financial work. Rodríguez, who is given only a brief sketch, represents an opposition element that persists even under the dominion of Portales. Like his brother, he ultimately paid the penalty in exile and premature death. The author credits Portales with little but a strong will that carried through the measures that he undertook. Nevertheless, he approves the part that the dictator played in destroying the Peruvian-Bolivian confederation of Santa Cruz. In this as in his earlier work, the author quotes much from contemporary writings and from later historians, particularly Diego Barros Arana. An annalist rather than a littérateur, Señor Amunátegui, in his varied researches, presents helpful interpretations of Chile's early history.

ISAAC J. COX.

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Cosas y Gentes de Antaño. By RICARDO FERNÁNDEZ GUARDIA. Segunda edición aumentada. (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Trejos Hermanos, 1939. Pp. 425.)

A new edition of the excellent collection of short historical sketches of Costa Rica by the learned director of the National Archives of that country.

R. R. H.

Pensamiento y Acción. By JUAN FRANCISCO TORRENT. (Corrientes, Argentina, 1939. Pp. 314.)

An account of the administration of Dr. Torrent as governor of the province of Corrientes from 1935 to 1939.

R. R. H.

Sarmiento: Cincuentenario de su Muerte. By the COMISIÓN NACIONAL DE HOMENAJE A SARMIENTO. (Buenos Aires, 1939. 5 vols. Pp. xv, 600; 446; 445; 243; and 468.)

A record of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Argentine author, educator, and statesman, edited under the direction of Dr. Ricardo Levene. Volumes I and II contain addresses and articles regarding Sarmiento by Argentinians and others from many countries. Volumes III and IV comprise selections from the work of Sarmiento, arranged by Alberto Palcos, Juan Rómulo Fernández, Juan E. Cassani, and Juan Pablo Echagüe. Volume V gives accounts of the meetings held in honor of Sarmiento. There are numerous illustrations, and the work is of a format and style which is a credit to the Commission.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Mexico Reborn. By VERNA CARLETON MILLAN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. Pp. 312. \$3.00.)

Most women of imagination and talent, once they have been brought to Mexico by their husbands, write books about the Mexicans. Some of them are mere travel books. Others give a realistic examination of the social scene for which women are peculiarly fitted. Such is the book of Mrs. Millan. A generation or so from now, if we are not overwhelmed by the post-revolutionary flood of observations on Mexico, the book will be a useful historical document. Historians who will know how to find the official documents will need the color that can be got only from such personal, human, down-to-earth pictures as this. Although the book represents only the years from 1933 to 1939, it does cover the transition from the fattening Callistas to the humanitarian Cardenistas, with its sympathies definitely with the latter. And into it have filtered the exotic and almost incredible political stories one hears in Mexico. In this book one is not surprised to learn that Huerta was a drug addict or that other politicians got rich in the gambling business.

Although this book is not presented as a compendium on Mexican life, in the space it covers it does give valuable sidelights on such things as the Fascist plots and the Laguna experiments. On the question of modern medicine and the place of women in Mexico, for example, it is doubtful if a more authentic source of information could be found. The whole book is vibrant with a convincing note that comes only from the pen of a person speaking from personal experience and with conviction. But it takes more than experience and conviction to write as forcefully and naturally as does Mrs. Millan. No experienced newspaper writer would burden his work with tables and charts, but this has the ring of high-class reporting in which the reporter expects to have her series of articles read together.

Manuscritos Peruanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Lima. By RUBÉN VARGAS UGARTE, S.J. [Biblioteca Peruana, III.] (Lima, 1940. Privately printed. Pp. viii, 273.)

In addition to the Archives of Peru the Biblioteca Nacional de Lima contains considerable manuscript wealth which has been virtually unknown to investigators except through the occasional publication of documents in the *Revista Histórica* by men like Carlos A. Romero and Bertram T. Lee. This collection, which amounted to over eight hundred documents before the Chilean occupation, was so dissipated by that bibliographical catastrophe that when Ricardo Palma reported in 1891 there were only 192 items. Dr. Vargas Ugarte now lists 1,120. This collection was developed by, or through the private collections of, D. Manuel de Odrizola, Ricardo Palma, D. Mariano F. Paz Soldán, and others. The documents are, therefore, discriminate collections.

Dr. Vargas Ugarte has performed the kind of service which would bring Latin-American depositories out of chaos and make them useful on an international scale. As it is, most of them are of use only to a few local scholars. Until now there was little to rely upon save such tools as the manuscript catalogue of the *Papeles Varios* in the handwriting of Ricardo Palma. He has reproduced *in toto* some seventeen important documents such as the *Constituciones de la Real Universidad de Humanga*, the *Constituciones de la Casa de Huérfanos de Nra. Sra. de Atocha*, and *Suma de los Capítulos de las Ordenanzas que se dan a los Corregidores*. The first, for example, is vital to the history of universities, the second to the history of public welfare, and the third to Indian law.

Under each entry the editor gives the archival citation, the subject of the document, and other useful information, including com-

ment on former publication. The information is complete enough to enable an investigator to select papers without going to Lima to examine the documents at length. There is an index of names which is most helpful in cases where the document is sought through an historical character. There is no index, however, to mere subjects, yet entries under such as Indians, *encomienda*, universities, inquisition would have been a boon far greater than the efforts required to make them. While the printing is legible, the format could have been greatly improved if Dr. Vargas Ugarte had used smaller type for his comments, bold-face type for his numbers, and freer use of paragraphing between the two types of matter within a single entry. Such things are not unimportant in a guide, but they do not obscure the fact that the work is fundamentally well done and of first-rate importance in libraries of Hispanic Americana everywhere.

Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano: 1939. By FERMIN PERAZA SARAUSA. [Ediciones Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano.] (La Habana, 1940. Pp. 167. \$1.00.)

This is the third annual edition of the *Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano* in which Dr. Peraza records the literary activity for the year 1939. The arrangement of the volume is the same as its predecessors. It contains sections on (1) books and pamphlets, (2) conferences, and (3) reviews and periodicals. The entries for the books and pamphlets are alphabetical by author, with a table of subjects. There are 462 titles (204 over 100 pages) for 1939 and 82 additional for 1936 and 1938 which did not appear in the previous issues. The subjects having the most entries include poetry, pedagogy, sociology, laws, and literature. History of Cuba has 23 titles (9 pamphlets) and history in general 13 titles (6 pamphlets).

Under the heading of "Conferences" there are listed 647 addresses by various individuals, of which only 62 were delivered outside of Habana. The section, "Reviews and Periodicals," contains an alphabetical list of 82 publications appearing for the first time in 1939, of which 64 are published in Habana. This is a valuable bibliographical tool which students and libraries interested in Latin-American studies will find most useful. Dr. Peraza is to be congratulated on the character and excellence of the guide.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

France et Louisiane. Médecine et Littérature. Montaigne et Montaigneu. . . . By RENÉ CRUCHET. [Romance Language Series. Number 2.] (Louisiana University: State University Press, 1939. Pp. 296. \$2.00.)

This volume comprises, under the titles above mentioned, three series of lectures given, in 1938, at Baton Rouge by a visiting professor from the University of Bordeaux. The present reviewer is only concerned with the first series. To pass judgment on the others is beyond his competence, and in any case they would have little interest for the readers of this review. However, it may not be out of place to remark, in passing, that the third series at times reminds one of the following comments made by a historian of French literature: the world would not have lost anything if Montaigne had been less garrulous. There are many things in the *Essais* "qu'on n'avait pas besoin de savoir."

The first lecture of the series on France and Louisiana is the background of the document which is published *in extenso* at the end of this series. It deals mainly with the relations between colonial Louisiana and Bordeaux. M. Cruchet emphasizes, perhaps too strongly, the part played by Bordelais in the colonization of Louisiana and the West Indies. Few writers would endorse the statement that the island on the maps of Boccario, Bianco, Benicasa, etc., is intended to represent the modern Antilles. Students of historical geography nowadays agree that *Antiglia* is one of the fabulous islands which medieval cartographers located in the Atlantic. The author seems to have confused Le Sueur with Iberville. The latter did not "ascend the Mississippi to Sault St. Antoine"; he went only as far as the Taensa villages.

The second lecture on France and Louisiana is entitled "Life in Louisiana from 1752 to 1756," according to a hitherto unpublished Bordeaux manuscript. M. Cruchet begins by establishing the identity of its author, Vaugine de Nuisement, a French army officer. He goes on to remark that the document is a copy, but, as is shown, there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. The document itself is printed as it stands, mistakes and all; the editor merely divides it into paragraphs, and corrects the fanciful and haphazard punctuation. The notes consist in comparing this account of de Nuisement's with the observations made by Charlevoix during his voyage down the Mississippi a generation before. While not adding much to what is known about the colony in the fifties of the eighteenth century, this account is an independent, private testimony, better in many ways than the

official letters and memoirs of the time; hence it may serve to verify the statements of the tendentious accounts sent by officialdom. The publication of this document will be welcomed by all who are interested in the early colonization of the Mississippi Valley.

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The Presidio and Mission of Los Adaes. By J. FAIR HARDIN. (Shreveport, 1940. Pp. 40.)

In this pamphlet the author has brought together the published references to the Spanish settlement of Adaes, which for a half century was the capital of the Spanish province of Texas. This was the eastern frontier post which was only a short distance from the French Natchitoches. It is now only a memory, but a group of interested persons seek to preserve the site as a monument to its glories which are gone.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE STORY OF JOSÉ LONGINOS MARTÍNEZ, CALIFORNIA'S FIRST NATURALIST

In my Introduction to *California in 1792—The Expedition of José Longinos Martínez* (Huntington Library Publications, 1938), I was obliged, for lack of documentation, to leave unsolved several mysterious aspects of that expedition. Why, for example, was Longinos sent alone and without proper equipment on such an immense undertaking as a survey of the natural resources of the two Californias and the coast of San Blas? It was quite apparent that there had been a violent disagreement among the members of the Botanical Expedition of 1787, and I hazarded a few conjectures as to its nature. This year, while working in the National Archives of Mexico, I ran across 115 documents scattered through seven volumes of the *Ramo de Historia*, all concerning Longinos and the ups and downs generally of the Expedition. A great deal of this material is petty bickering of the most inconsequential sort, but it contains the complete story of the Expedition and Longinos' part in it. The story has its place in the early history of California.

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October 10, 1786, Spain's great Charles III, urged by his equally great minister, José de Gálvez, authorized a scientific expedition to New Spain. In his own words:

Whereas it is necessary to my service and the good of my vassals that . . . the products of my fertile dominions of New Spain be methodically examined, sketched, and described, not only for the general and important purpose of fomenting progress in the Physical Sciences, of removing doubts and misconceptions in Medicine, Dyes, and other useful arts, but also for the special purpose of perfecting, with respect to the present state of the Natural Sciences, the original writing left by Dr. Francisco Hernández, *protomedico* of Philip II, . . . I have ordered to New Spain two Botanists and a Naturalist (all Spaniards), who will join Dr. D. Martín Sessé, whom today I am naming Director of the Expedition. . . .

The naturalist was José Longinos Martínez. Longinos was a practicing surgeon in Madrid. It is well to remember that in the eighteenth century surgery was a very humble calling and was usually practiced by barbers. Longinos did not escape the touchiness, self-importance, and jealousy which his modest beginnings and ambition

generated. He studied botany, and from the sixth to the ninth of December, 1786, took part in the public exercises in that science in the Botanical Garden of Madrid. In the competition Longinos was awarded first place. The following spring he was named Naturalist of the Botanical Expedition (March 20, 1787).

On that same date he and Dr. Sessé received their instructions, which are practically identical. (1) From the day of their arrival they were to remain in New Spain six years; (2) they were both to enjoy the salary of one thousand pesos a year; (3) during their travels on duty they were to receive double pay; (4) upon their return to Spain they would receive half pay while writing up their findings, or until they received other posts; (5) travel expenses would be advanced against their salaries; (6) the Royal Treasury would provide them with tools, books, and instruments. Longinos was given the title of Naturalist; Sessé that of Director of the Expedition and of the Botanical Garden.

Even without knowing whether or not Longinos and Sessé had had any differences before, one can easily see that the situation was charged with trouble. The king was in error in not making the authority of Sessé sufficiently clear and in not placing him in a higher category than the rest of the Expedition. Then, Sessé, as a physician, was bound to look down upon Longinos the surgeon, while Longinos the naturalist regarded with contempt the scientific attainments of Sessé the medico. Such was the situation from the moment the Expedition landed in New Spain. The members trickled into Vera Cruz during 1787, Longinos and the botanist Vicente Cervantes reaching Mexico City in September.

There seems to have been some doubt in official quarters concerning the qualifications of Sessé as director, because he circulated a petition regarding them among the other members of the Expedition. The petition was signed by all, including Longinos, on May 3, 1788. This is the only case on record in which Sessé and Longinos ever agreed about anything. The first indication we have that all was not well is a communication from Sessé to Revillagigedo, the viceroy, to the effect that when the Expedition returned from its work in Mexicalcingo Longinos and a draftsman remained behind mounting and drawing specimens, in disobedience to their instructions. Revillagigedo, who was destined to play the part of buffer between the two, cut off the extra pay of Longinos and the draftsman, by way of bringing them to Mexico.

How things were between Sessé and his naturalist may be deduced from a series of events in 1789. On May 16 Longinos applied to the

viceroy for permission to absent himself from the Expedition, pleading illness and the death of his wife. Longinos, to judge by the certificate of a physician, was suffering from a bad attack of malaria, "heavy chills, fever, and sweating," as the practitioner described it. But Longinos neglected to inform Sessé that he had permission to remain in Mexico, as Sessé complained the following September. During the next few months the viceroy was bombarded by both Longinos and Sessé. Charges of incompetence, ignorance, and dishonesty flew back and forth, until the viceroy put the whole business in the hands of the *fiscal de lo civil* for investigation. The fiscal, like a good dean in a faculty feud, reported as follows:

The discords between the Director of the Expedition, D. Martín Sessé, and the Naturalist, D. José Longinos Martínez, as commonly happens in affairs of this sort, began with really insignificant causes, but their exchanges of cutting and satirical remarks, have aggravated their tempers in the highest degree.

The fiscal thought that all such business should cease at once. He did not approve of Longinos' practicing surgery, or his establishing a private museum, which, as Sessé had complained, conflicted with the purpose of the Expedition.

The museum mentioned by the fiscal was a constant source of complaint on the part of Sessé. It was given a great deal of space in the *Gazeta de Mexico* of April 27, 1790, in an article evidently written by Longinos, the pomposity and presumption of which are beyond exaggeration.

In the course of the row Longinos had recommended to Revillagigedo that the Expedition should be split up, each member devoting himself to the territory and problems in which he could be most useful. Sessé made the same recommendation to the viceroy in a letter of September 16, 1790, while complaining at the same time that Longinos persistently refused to join the expedition. The pettiness to which the feud brought the two is best illustrated in the episode of the artificial eyes. Longinos, as he complained, had brought from Spain a stock of eyes with which to mount specimens. Sessé, claiming that the eyes belonged to the Expedition, broke into Longinos' quarters and made off with part of the stock. The bitterness of Longinos is better imagined than described.

Lest our opinion of Longinos fall to a point where we have no respect for his scientific attainments, it may be well to interpolate here his report to Revillagigedo concerning certain [mastodon] bones which had been sent to him for examination.

With regard to your inquiry I wish to say that I have collected many petrified elephant bones in different and remote parts of this Kingdom. They have not been described by any of the Historians who have written of this Continent, nor has anyone explained how or when elephants came to this Kingdom. But I have no doubt that they are elephant bones and not the bones of giants, as affirmed by all who have written about them. One might deduce from this circumstance that the settlers of this Continent came from Asia, bringing with them, perhaps, a number of these animals.

Longinos, however, somewhat spoils the effect of his intelligent observations by adding that in his opinion the study of fossils is sterile and useless for any practical end.

The rift between Sessé and Longinos having been officially recognized, and the splitting of the Expedition having been proposed by both, we are prepared for Longinos' petition to Revillagigedo of November 15, 1790, in which he begs to be allowed to explore the natural resources of San Blas and the two Californias. The petition was duly examined by the proper officers, approved, and the viceroy ordered the new expedition to depart within the week. Longinos' assistant was to be Don Jaime Sensevé, "professor of pharmacy" of the Expedition. His equipment was to be one army tent.

There is a multitude of circumstances which make it certain that Revillagigedo sent Longinos and Sensevé off on their pilgrimage with his tongue in his cheek, so to speak. First, the viceroy would have been less than human not to be exasperated by the silly feud between Sessé and Longinos, a feud in which he had to bear the shock of their endless correspondence. Then, the man he assigned to assist Longinos was so notoriously incompetent that the whole Expedition expressed itself to that effect in a petition circulated by Sessé, who wanted to have Sensevé sent back to Spain. Moreover, Longinos was given no field equipment save an army tent, no draftsman, and no money for his maintenance. To make the money matter worse, his commission was ambiguous concerning the amount of his salary, so that the royal officers along his route refused to pay him the double salary to which he was entitled.

Under these dismal circumstances José Longinos Martínez left Mexico City late in January, 1791, on his four-thousand-mile journey, to the enormous relief, it is safe to add, of Revillagigedo. From Lake Chapala Longinos wrote in begging to be sent a draftsman, but no draftsman was sent. Sensevé, as one might expect, turned out to be more of a hindrance than a help. Writing to the viceroy from Loreto, Baja California, March 30, 1791, Longinos says that Sensevé is dissatisfied with the arrangements about his pay and has resolved to

return to Mexico. It is just as well, he adds, because Sensevé's ignorance is such that the expedition will not suffer by his absence.

Meanwhile, Longinos has been busy exploring the country. He has discovered and reconnoitred rich gold and silver deposits near San José del Cabo and has found some curious agates on the Isla del Carmen. He has shipped two cases of specimens* to Don Antonio Porlier, fiscal of his Majesty, at Madrid.

From the end of March, 1791, to November 22, 1792, Longinos made the long journey from Loreto to Monterey, returning by boat. During that time there was no word from him. Once back in San Blas, however, his past began to overtake him. It seems that Sessé's complaints had got back to Madrid, with the result that an order had been issued by the king forbidding the separation of Longinos and Sensevé from the Expedition, and commanding the viceroy to reprimand Longinos for insubordination. Such was the explorer's welcome upon returning to San Blas. His reply is what one might expect: the king has been misinformed by Sessé, whose malice and dishonesty are manifest, etc. He begs to be allowed to complete his work in San Blas, especially since during the rainy season it would be extremely hazardous to transport his specimens to Mexico. Time wore on and the rainy season passed. The viceroy again ordered Longinos home on October 24, 1793. Longinos exhausted his ingenuity in pretexts for remaining away from Sessé. He made a series of proposals to the viceroy. The first was that he should be allowed to establish a petroleum depot in Los Angeles, California, for supplying mineral tar to San Blas—the beginning of California's oil industry. His remarks on petroleum are curious:

I have made a number of tests and analyses of this tar in order to determine its nature and to see whether it could be used for the same purpose as that used in the shipyards. It flows from a spring which, of the many abundant ones of New California, is the only one I have found which could be used. The rest are of a species of petroleum, accompanied by salts and earth which make them unserviceable.

His second proposal was a one-man exploration of the coast from San Blas to Peru! His third, to serve for half pay as the director of the Museum of Natural History in Mexico City for the duration of the war.

All in vain. The viceroy thanked Longinos for his offer, but ordered him to return to Mexico City at once. Longinos was in Mex-

* These specimens reached Mexico City in April, 1793, and were shipped to Madrid the same month. The list of the specimens is included in the Appendix to Longinos' *Journal*.

ico by January 20, 1794, and the first thing he did was to apply for the double salary due him according to his commission. The viceroy's answer was to order Longinos to send in "an exact and circumstantial account of all the observations you have made in your recent expedition to the coast of San Blas and the Peninsula of the Californias, and other territory through which you have passed." It seems likely that Longinos' reply was the *Journal* now in the Huntington Library. In any event, the viceroy approved the order paying Longinos' salary, whether impressed by his labors or subject to an attack of conscience we cannot say.

How Sessé felt about the return of his enemy may be judged by his proposing to the viceroy that the Expedition be split into two sections, one of which, under his direction, should explore the Leeward Islands, the other, composed of Longinos and Moziño, to do the same in Guatemala. The proposal was sent to Madrid and in due time came back approved. The two expeditions were ordered to set out in the spring of 1795. Meanwhile, the old quarrel, after its long rest, burst out with renewed vigor, and the viceroy's year was taken up with reading the acrimonious correspondence between Sessé and Longinos, which grew more petty and bitter daily. It reached the point in the summer of 1794 where Sessé was reporting absences and tardiness on the part of Longinos, the while charges and counter-charges, twenty to forty pages in length, were hurtling back and forth. Sessé finally thought himself justified in asking for the dismissal of Longinos, charging him with incompetence, dishonesty, fraud, insubordination, etc. The weary viceroy turned the matter over again to his fiscal, who again side-stepped the issue, claiming that the charges were too grave to be settled by anyone short of the king, and, anyway, now that the two men were to be separated, it was best to let the matter drop. The one who refused to let it drop was the botanist, José Moziño, who, being one of the Sessé faction, anticipated the most appalling fate as the companion of Longinos.

There is no doubt, he wrote the viceroy, that my incorporation into this body [the Botanical Expedition] is one of the strongest stimuli to the unjust aversion to which I have been subjected by one whom I have never offended, for, when I presented myself to him as his new companion and offered him my useless services, he received me not only with great scorn, but up to the present has not had the politeness to return my visit. He scoffs at my being a true professor and in the insulting letters which he writes to the Director he never refers to me by any other title than that of student, although he cannot boast of having given me a single lesson, or even of having spoken of scientific matters in my presence.

A great deal more of the same, after which Moziño begs the viceroy to spare him and to choose another companion for Longinos.

Sessé and his company left for the Leeward Islands in April, 1795, but even *en route* Sessé could not forego the luxury of launching another blast at Longinos—which came to nothing, as did Moziño's plea. The latter, however, escaped the company of the dreaded naturalist, Longinos being detained in Mexico to perform an operation for cataract on a certain Don José Joaquín Lecuona. Indeed, there is no indication that Moziño and Longinos ever saw each other while in Guatemala, by, one suspects, mutual consent.

There is little more to the story of Longinos. Moziño and his draftsman returned to Mexico in the winter of 1798-99. Toward the end of 1800 Sessé informed the viceroy that the Expedition had completed its labors and was ready to return to Spain. In March, 1802, he repeated that they were all waiting for orders, all save Longinos, whose whereabouts he did not know, adding that Longinos had been suffering from lung trouble for the past four years. In 1803 the Expedition was still in Mexico, being held up by a suit brought against Sessé for winning a large sum in a gambling party.

By this time it was known that Longinos was dead. The last information we have about him is a letter from the governor of Guatemala to the viceroy, dated April 3, 1803. The late Longinos had applied for a passport to Mexico on April 8, 1801. He had left six cases of specimens in charge of the royal treasury, three cases of living plants and three of mounted specimens. The governor begs to be instructed as to what disposition to make of them. Standley, using sources with which I am unacquainted, writes that Longinos died in Campeche in 1803. However it was, it is sad to reflect on the lonely and irascible old man coughing out his life in friendless neglect, a victim of his own temperament and of bureaucratic pettiness. At the same time, as honest partisans of Longinos, it pleases us that, of all the labors of the Expedition, the work of Longinos in the Californias is, very likely, the most enduring monument it left.

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Bibliographical note: All the materials for this article were taken from the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Ramo de Historia, Vols. 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 527.

THE SPECIAL INSTITUTE OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS IN THE SUMMER OF 1940

Latin-American studies were emphasized to an unusual degree at the University of Texas this past summer.

The Committee on Latin-American Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the University, with the coöperation of the Rockefeller Foundation and the national Social Science Research Council, conducted a special Institute of Latin-American Studies in connection with the first term of the University of Texas 1940 Summer Session. This was the second special institute which the national Committee on Latin-American Studies has jointly sponsored—the first having been held under the auspices of the Committee and the University of Michigan in the summer of 1939. The 1940 special institute at Austin was regarded as an introduction to the permanent Institute of Latin-American Studies that was inaugurated at the University of Texas in September, 1940.

The work of the special Institute this past summer fell into four categories: first, class-room instruction over a six-weeks' period; second, a series of public lectures given at the open air theatre on the campus each Monday evening during the first summer term; third, a series of eight radio addresses over the Texas State Network; and fourth, a conference on international relations in the western hemisphere on July 2 and 3, which was attended by a large number of scholars and publicists from the United States and Latin America. A brief comment upon each of these four programs follows.

The thirty-two courses (two of which had two sections each) that were offered in the Institute by twenty-two different individuals were designed primarily for mature students who wished to correlate their Latin-American studies; for college and university teachers who desired to sharpen their academic tools; and for commercial and professional people who wished to enrich or broaden their knowledge of Latin America. The courses could be taken for credit, but visitors were welcome. Of the staff of twenty-two persons, fourteen came from Texas, three were from the United States outside Texas, and five came from Latin America. Dr. Preston E. James and Dr. A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan gave courses in Latin-American geography and history; and courses in Latin-American economics and

trade were offered by Dr. George Wythe, Liaison Officer of the United States Department of Commerce.

The staff members from Latin America were Dr. Adolfo Best-Maugard, Mexican Art Critic, and Dr. Vicente T. Mendoza, authority on Mexican Music—who gave courses in the College of Fine Arts; Dr. Daniel Samper Ortega, Counselor of the Colombian Embassy in Washington, who gave courses in the history and civilization of South America; Dr. Ramón Martínez López, librarian from Argentina, who taught Latin-American literature courses; and, finally, the distinguished Brazilian poetess, Senhora Cecília Meireles, who, on what was her first visit to the United States, offered courses on Brazilian literature and civilization.

The attendance at the Institute was very gratifying. A total of 471 individuals took courses for academic credit; in addition, 49 individuals paid visitors' fees. Thus, the total registration by individuals in the courses offered in the Institute was 520. Of these, 118 were undergraduate men; 119 were graduate men; 138 were undergraduate women; and 154 were graduate women.

Enrollment figures by states show widespread interest in the Institute. Texas led with an enrollment of 487. Three students from each of the following states were registered: Arkansas, Louisiana, Mexico, New Mexico, and Oklahoma. Two students from each of the following states were registered: Alabama, Florida, Kansas, Indiana, and North Carolina. One student was registered from each of the following states: Colorado, Iowa, Illinois, Michigan, Mississippi, Nebraska, Ohio, and Virginia. Thus a total of eighteen states and Mexico were represented in the individual enrollment at the Institute.

Of the total individual students enrolled in the Institute, 138 registered for academic credit or as a visitor in two or more courses in the Institute. To be exact, 84 students registered for two courses; 38 registered for three courses; 15 registered for four courses; and one student registered for five courses. Thus, the total enrollment by classes was 729, of which number 72 were registered as visitors. These figures show an average of approximately twenty students registered for academic credit and an average of nearly three students registered as visitors in each of the thirty-two courses offered in the Institute.

Of the 49 registered visitors, five were undergraduate men; eleven were graduate men; five were undergraduate women; and twenty-eight were graduate women.

The wide variety of courses offered in the Institute is shown by the following list of courses offered in ten disciplines:

ANTHROPOLOGY: *Mexico*.—George C. M. Engerrand, professor of anthropology, the University of Texas.

BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION: *Latin-American Resources and Trade*.—George Wythe, Liaison Officer, Department of Commerce. *Methods of Trading with Latin America*.—John Hutchinson Frederick, professor of transportation and industry, the University of Texas.

ECONOMICS: *Survey of the Economy of Mexico*.—George Wythe.

FINE ARTS (ART): *Creative Design*.—Adolfo Best-Maugard, Mexican art critic, and Loren Norman Mozley, assistant professor of art, the University of Texas. *History of the Art of Mexico*.—Adolfo Best-Maugard.

FINE ARTS (MUSIC): *History of Mexican Music*.—Vicente T. Mendoza, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, National University of Mexico. *Aesthetics of Musical Composition*.—Vicente T. Mendoza. *South American Music*.—Albert Thomas Luper, instructor in violin and theory, the University of Texas.

GEOGRAPHY: *Geography of Man in South America*.—Preston E. James, professor of geography, the University of Michigan. *Physical Geography of Latin America*.—Preston E. James.

GOVERNMENT: *The Foreign Policies of the United States: Latin America*.—J. Lloyd Mecham, professor of government, the University of Texas. *The Government and Politics of Latin America*.—J. Lloyd Mecham.

HISTORY: *History of Spain and Portugal, 1500-1821*.—Carlos E. Castañeda, associate professor of history and Latin-American librarian, the University of Texas. *History of South America to 1600*.—Daniel Samper Ortega, Counselor of the Colombian Embassy, Washington, D. C. *History of South America: Developments since Independence*.—Charles W. Hackett, professor of Latin-American history, the University of Texas. *History of Mexico and Spanish North America to 1700*.—Arthur S. Aiton, professor of history, the University of Michigan. *History of Mexico and Spanish North America, 1700-1824*.—Arthur S. Aiton. *History of Mexico and Spanish North America since Independence*.—Charles W. Hackett. *History of the United States, 1829-1860: The Texas Question and the Mexican War, 1829-1848*.—J. L. Waller, professor of American history, the Texas College of Mines.

PORTUGUESE: *Beginners' Grammar and Reading*.—Ida Virginia Joiner, tutor in Romance languages, the University of Texas. *Brazilian Civilization* (in English).—Cecília Meireles, Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos, Rio de Janeiro. *Survey of Modern Brazilian Literature*.—Cecília Meireles.

SPANISH: *Grammar, Reading, and Composition* (two sections).—Randolph Arnold Haynes, assistant professor of Romance languages, the University of Texas, and Lillian Wester, instructor in Romance languages, the University of Texas. *Composition and Reading* (two sections).—Dorothy Schons, assistant professor of Romance languages, and Lillian Wester. *Civilization of Northern South America*.—Daniel Samper Ortega. *Literary History of Mexico, Colonial Period*.—Dorothy Schons. *Contemporary Spanish-American Prose*.—Ramón Martínez López, director of Municipal Library, Pergamino, Argentina. *Contemporary Drama and Poetry of Spanish America*.—Ramón Martínez López. *Contemporary Literature: La poesía moderna en América y España*.—Américo Castro, professor of Romance languages, the University of Texas. *Studies in Spanish-American Literature: Martín Fierro*.—Jefferson Rea Spell, associate professor of Romance languages, the University of Texas. *Old Spanish: La lengua española en América*.—Américo Castro.

The public lectures aroused general interest and each was attended by from three hundred to six hundred people. The schedule of these lectures follows:

June 10: "The Geography of Southern Brazil," illustrated.—Dr. Preston E. James, professor of geography, the University of Michigan.

June 17: "American Administration in Puerto Rico."—Dean Thomas E. Benner of the University of Illinois and former President of the University of Puerto Rico.

June 24: "Science Investigates Latin-American Art," illustrated.—Mr. Charles Muskavitch, Conservator of Fine Arts, Dallas and Sacramento Museums of Fine Arts.

July 1: "Democracy and Dictatorship in Latin America."—Dr. C. H. Har- ing, professor of history, Harvard University. Following this lecture an illustrated talking travelogue dealing with the west coast of South America and furnished with the compliments of the Grace Line was shown on the screen.

July 8: "The Culture of Brazil," illustrated.—Senhora Cecília Meireles. Following this lecture a film showing the status of the cotton industry in Brazil, which was furnished by the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture, and a film, furnished with the compliments of the Moore-McCormack Steamship Company, depicting scenes on the east coast of South America, were shown on the screen.

The series of eight radio broadcasts given under the auspices of the Institute was opened on June 11 by Professor Charles W. Hackett with an address entitled "The Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas and its Significance." The list of subsequent lectures follows:

June 13: "Interview between Adolfo Best-Maugard, Mexican Art Critic, and Gail Northe, of the Texas State Network, on Some Comparisons and Contrasts between Mexican and Anglo-American Art."

June 18: "Fifty Years of Inter-American Trade"—George Wythe, Liaison Officer, Department of Commerce.

June 20: "An Historical Approach to a Better Understanding in the Americas"—Arthur S. Aiton, professor of history, the University of Michigan.

June 25: "The Main Aspects of Latin-American Culture"—Américo Castro, professor of Romance languages, the University of Texas.

June 27: "The Music of Brazil"—followed by a transcribed Brazilian composition—Senhora Cecília Meireles, Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos.

July 2: "Pan America in its Relation to the World Situation"—Roland Hall Sharp, staff correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, specializing in Latin-American Affairs.

July 2: "The Altered Economic Position of Latin America, 1931-1939"—Honorable Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States.

The high point of the Institute was reached on July 2 and 3 with the assembling of internationally known scholars and publicists for a conference which devoted five sessions to the general subject: "Changes in the Economic and Political Situation in the Western Hemisphere, and Problems Arising Therefrom, as a Result of the War in Europe." This conference and its significance is the subject of a special article for this periodical which has been prepared by the conference chairman, Professor J. Lloyd Mechem.

From the above it will be seen that there is basis for belief that the special Institute of Latin-American Studies at the University of Texas in 1940 fulfilled a mission that should bear good fruit in the promotion of better understanding and cordial relations between the people of the two Americas. That the work of the Institute dovetails in with the Good Neighbor Policy of the present national administration and with its efforts to promote cultural relations between the Americas—as revealed at the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education which was held at Washington last November—is borne out by the following letter which was written to the author on May 1, 1940, by Acting Secretary of State Sumner Welles. It reads:

I am indebted to you for . . . a copy of the recently published bulletin describing the special Institute of Latin-American Studies which will be held in connection with the first term of the University of Texas summer session this year. I have noted with pleasure the comprehensive and stimulating nature of the courses which are planned for the Institute.

It is especially gratifying to know that you have been able to assemble such a distinguished group of scholars from both this country and the other American republics. I trust that the Institute will be eminently successful and take this opportunity to congratulate the University of Texas on an initiative which . . . carries out several of the suggestions and recommendations made at the Conference on Inter-American Relations in the Field of Education last November.

University of Texas.

CHARLES W. HACKETT,
Chairman, Executive Committee of the Special Institute.

A BRIEF ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
CONFERENCE ON "CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC
AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE AND PROBLEMS ARISING
THEREFROM, AS A RESULT OF
THE WAR IN EUROPE"

A Conference on International Relations in the Western Hemisphere was held in Austin, Texas, on July 2 and 3 in connection with a special Institute of Latin-American Studies at the University of Texas. A distinguished group of scholars, business and professional men, and government officials, drawn from the United States and Latin America, participated with members of the Institute staff in a series of round-table discussions on the subject indicated above.

It was the purpose of the Conference, through the medium of prepared papers, and informal round-table discussions, to explore the political and economic problems wrought in the Western Hemisphere by the present war, with the ultimate objective of discovering research needs helpful for the formulation of a future Hemisphere policy. In recognition of the rich possibilities of such a conference for the promotion of scientific scholarship, the national Social Science Research Council lent its support to that of the other sponsors of the Institute.

The Conference met in five sessions. The general topic of the first and second sessions was "An Exploratory Examination of Political Problems" precedent to and resulting from the present war. The general topic of the third and fourth sessions was "An Exploratory Examination of Economic Problems" in relation to the war. The formal papers and round-table discussions of these first four sessions were designed to head up in the discussions of the fifth and final session devoted to "The Need and Opportunities for Scholarly Research Helpful for the Formulation of a Post-War Hemisphere Policy." In order to prepare the way for a more purposeful discussion in the final session there was first presented a formal paper entitled "The Kind of Preparatory Work, Relating to Western Hemisphere Problems, Which Needs to Be Done, in Anticipation of Possible American Participation in the War Settlement." Then, four discussion leaders, acting somewhat in the capacity of *rapporteurs* for each of the preceding sessions, indicated "The subjects which, in light of the previous discussions, have been revealed as offering opportunities for scientific

examination." Following the remarks and suggestions of the *rappor-teurs* the session was opened to general discussion.

This arrangement of topics and discussions, as briefly outlined, made for a unified program *with a purpose*. That the Conference was fruitful in directing attention to urgent and pressing problems requiring scholarly scientific examination is supported by the brief abstract of the proceedings which follows.

The topic of the first session was "The Western Hemisphere in the Shadow of the Gathering War Storm." The formal papers were presented by Roland Hall Sharp, Latin-American expert of the *Christian Science Monitor*, and Dana G. Munro, Director of the School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. Professors C. H. Haring of Harvard University, and Herbert I. Priestley of the University of California acted as discussion leaders. The presiding officer was Daniel Samper Ortega, Counselor of the Colombian Embassy, Washington, D. C.

As first speaker Dr. Sharp spoke on "The Pre-War Ideological Drive in Latin America." A true analysis of ideological drives, he contended, should consider: (1) intensity of effort behind the drive from the outside, (2) receptivity of the American nations to such attempts, and (3) powers of resistance to these campaigns, including the effect of neutralizing counter-attractions.

With regard to the first, in the speaker's opinion, "no effort will be spared by Berlin, Rome, Madrid, Tokyo, Moscow, and a few other capitals to obtain whatever those capitals desire in Latin America." Ample evidence exists to prove the presence of a German drive, substantiation being found in statements of policy from Berlin and results observed in Latin America. Nazi centers have been organized "in every country" of Latin America, Brazil especially showing the effect of such organization.

Unusual receptivity for the totalitarian philosophy exists among ruling classes and among foreign colonists. This is heightened by the failure of democracies, represented largely by the United States, to provide a counter-attraction. "They copied the Constitution of this country when the vigorous young Republic of the West had risen triumphant as the champion of national independence and civil liberties. Today the picture has changed. . . . The United States still has far to go in proving that democracy as practiced here . . . is superior to the competing claims of Fascism."

Resistance power of Latin America to ideological drives depends on success of democracies in dealing with social advancement,

trade, diplomacy and the present war. The United States can act so wisely and so powerfully as to tip the balance.

In summary, world aggressors want to make inroads in Latin America; racial colonies have been propagandized and organized; an influential number of Latin Americans are fascist-inclined but are countered by a desire for national independence and devotion to the American way of life; saving of this way of life is up to the United States; "world events and the way this nation behaves will decide which way Latin America goes."

Dr. Munro in discussing "Pan-American Pre-War Preparations for the General War Shock" built his remarks around the development of the Roosevelt Good Neighbor Policy, which began early and was intensified by the nearness of war. In its efforts "to create better relations and lay the foundation for continental solidarity" the Administration has: (1) assured by word and act that the United States was through with intervention in the internal affairs of smaller neighbors; (2) made a deliberate effort to avoid unpleasant diplomatic controversies with Latin-American governments; (3) fostered an attempt to build up a system of Pan-American coöperation in the political sphere; and (4) sought an improvement in cultural relations.

Outstanding political problem arising out of the war has been the future of the United States' non-intervention policy. According to Dr. Munro we are right where President Theodore Roosevelt and his advisors were in 1904, only "we face a much more aggravated and dangerous situation than they faced." "It seems to me," he said, "there is no more fruitful field for investigation in Latin-American relations today than a study of their intervention policy. What we need is a thorough study with the idea of finding out what they (Roosevelt and advisors) were trying to do and where they went wrong and what we could do to achieve the same purpose without getting us into disastrous messes. . . ."

In the second place Dr. Munro pointed out the "danger that the other republics may come to mistrust and resent our vastly superior military power more than they fear that of our political enemies abroad." Best remedy for this, according to the speaker, is in all our dealings, our writings, and discussions "to approach the problems with frankness and clearmindedness."

In the meantime, "Heavy responsibility rests on people who teach and write about Latin America in this country. We must all remember that what we say, even though we may know very little about it ourselves, is perhaps published in Latin America as an indication of American opinion." Heaviest responsibility, he concluded, rests upon

the United States government and the "only thing I can suggest about improvement of our policy down there is the improvement of personnel."

Dr. Haring, in discussing Mr. Sharp's paper, while agreeing with it in the main, suggested the need for closer examination of the Brazilian picture, saying, "I see very few signs, very little evidence that the dictatorship in Brazil has been anything since November, 1937, but a regulation Latin-American dictatorship. The Integralista movement is wholly Brazilian; the ideology is imported but imported by Brazilians to meet their own particular political situation." At the same time it must be realized that the "Pan American Union is not a union of democracies. . . . It never has been a union of democracies, but it is a union of nations which have . . . determined to maintain their independence of Europe and to maintain what has been called the American way of life."

Dr. Priestley indicated the need to meet ideological attacks upon Latin America "with something better than institutes and public sentiment." Referring to the weaknesses of democracy, he emphasized that the United States must adopt a definite policy with regard to Latin America at once, a policy not yet, however, easily ascertained.

Señor Samper Ortega, in the general discussion, reiterated the opinion that the assault on Latin America by the totalitarian powers will be "largely economic penetration, followed by political penetration."

The second session of the Conference was devoted to "New World Reactions to World War II." The two formal papers were presented by John I. B. McCulloch, Editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, and Russell H. Fitzgibbon, University of California at Los Angeles. The discussion leaders were Professors Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan, and C. A. Timm, University of Texas. The session was presided over by Dr. R. A. Tsanoff of Rice Institute.

Mr. McCulloch spoke on the "Influence of the War Upon Internal Political Developments in Latin America." "The influence of the present war upon Latin America, politically speaking," he said, "has differed in one very important respect from the influence of the war in the economic sphere. The economic effects were immediate. From the moment war was declared, the existence of that war was the major factor operating on Latin-American economics. Throughout the past months, the European conflict has dominated every other consideration in the economic life of these republics." Contrasted to this, during the "entire earlier phase of the European conflict, such political

effects as were noted in Latin America were largely a by-product of the economic." But with the invasion of Holland and Belgium and other Nazi victories, the "tempo of political life has been accelerated and emphasis has shifted from local to international issues."

With these new international issues before them, most of the Latin-American countries face new political alignments with the central issue being "just how far they are prepared to go in backing up an increasingly active Pan-American polity." "How far are they going to follow the initiative of the United States?" The speaker then traced the beginnings of these new political shifts in Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico.

Also in an effort to combat the menace of political penetration an increasingly militaristic policy has been adopted by even the most pacific republics and the most democratic have started whittling away "those traditional individual rights and civil liberties upon which democracy is founded."

Dr. Fitzgibbon divided his remarks on "Western Hemisphere Neutrality and Steps to Secure Non-Involvement" into two parts; first, the formal phase of neutrality policy; then the reorientation of fundamental attitude which took place after "lightning war" had been revealed.

The formal period included the routine neutrality proclamations, which though based upon international law contained a foreshadowing of collective action. These were followed by the Panama Conference which was the capstone of a program for collective action based upon the Buenos Aires and Lima conferences of previous years. The Panama meeting proclaimed the "General Declaration of Neutrality of the American Republics" and established the neutrality zone with its accompanying Permanent Neutrality Committee.

"The first phase of the effort toward non-involvement and maintenance of neutrality may be said to have come to an end with the work of the Neutrality Committee and the several protests sent the belligerents by the government of Panama in the name of all the American republics over successive violations of the neutrality zone. They were efforts stemming from an old approach to international law, organization, and relations."

The second phase brought a reorientation of fundamental attitude and policy on the part of the American republics. "Now routine proclamations were frequently accompanied by thinly veiled expressions of sympathy for the invaded countries." Latin America began to realize that this was no ordinary war, that the "only certain thing is its uncertainty."

"We must wholly revise our bases of thinking about neutrality and non-involvement in contemporary warfare. Compromise is out of the question." The speaker denied, however, that the first phase of outmoded formal neutrality was valueless. "Valuable surveying has been done, useful courses have been charted to store away against the time when the world may return to more of a rule of reason in its international relations. . . ."

Although "the world seems to be paging neither the statesmen nor the scholars of the democracies at the present moment," research possibilities are many. The economist can find a way to mesh production, problems of currency, exchange control, credit and debt structure; the sociologist needs to find ways and means of cushioning the conflict of cultures on two sides of the Rio Grande; the geographer needs to go further in revealing the physical and human resources of the area; the historian should continue to provide full and intimate knowledge of the past; the political scientist's job is to explore organization and functioning of government and politics.

But "If the social scientist is to make any constructive contribution to tomorrow, (a) it must be on the basis of thoroughly intelligent and organized research upon these and other lines, and (b) it must be untrammelled by any assumption that human affairs will be ordered as they have been in the past."

Dr. Aiton, in commenting upon Mr. McCulloch's paper, urged the need of putting direction into Pan-American activity, citing Cantilo's nonbelligerency proposal, without prior conference with the other American nations, as an example of the haphazardness of the present movement. "We are moving around and getting nowhere," he said.

Dr. Timm raised several questions brought out by Dr. Fitzgibbon's paper. These he labeled, "points for further study." Why did we cling to the possibility and desirability of noninvolvement even at the beginning of the war? Why at the Panama Conference, which limited itself to declarations and resolutions, was there such a "lamentable lack of understanding of meaning of totalitarianism in war?" When a common-solidarity attitude was decided upon, why was the machinery and procedure not adequate for effective action? The "hypocrisy and futility of formal neutrality" was revealed during the *Graf Spee* incident when the American states "applauded defeat of the *Graf Spee*, and collectively reprimanded Britain for fighting near their premises."

"When legal status and formal actions of a whole hemisphere fail utterly to square with the moral sentiments of the overwhelming majority of its people, it is time to take stock." Total war, declared

Dr. Timm, has shown need for "hemisphere coördination of a practical, positive character that will present a united front to Europe's dictators." "Formal neutrality is still possible but noninvolvement quite impossible in a modern world war."

A consideration of economic problems in relation to the war was introduced with the third session. The session topic was "The International Economic Relationships of the Latin-American Nations," and the two formal papers were presented by Dr. John H. Frederick, the University of Texas, and Dr. Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State. Dr. Dudley M. Phelps, University of Michigan and Mr. Frank H. King, Chief of the Dallas Bureau, Associated Press, acted as discussion leaders. President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas presided.

Dr. Frederick introduced his paper, "The Position of Latin America in the Post-War World Economy (1920-1930)," by remarking on the significant rôle of export and import trade in the domestic economy of Latin America where foreign trade is the breath of life, and not merely a process of exporting surpluses and importing luxuries.

This dependence upon trade was heightened during the twenties by the fact that so far as exports were concerned, these countries were one-, two-, or three-product countries. They had their "eggs in a very few baskets and so were at the mercy of declining world prices for their export commodities."

The prices of the commodities on which Latin America depended for export trade were "during a good part of the period at a very low level." The seriousness of this condition becomes apparent when it is known that like economically new countries Latin America depended upon indirect taxes for national revenue which came largely from import and export tariffs. Latin America attempted to extricate herself from this economic position by building up industries, with government encouragement, of greater economic self-sufficiency and by adopting the protectionist policy in tariffs, thereby representing a shift from fiscalism to protectionism.

Three things characterized the position of Latin Americans during this decade: (1) they were gradually coming to realize that national resources contribute to wealth and income only to the extent that those natural assets are transferred by manufacturing processes into a more valuable form of goods; (2) they were a group of countries constantly needing certain imports but increasingly faced with the problem of how they were to pay for them; and (3) they reached

the realization that industrialization was the way toward more economic independence and more satisfactory national incomes.

Assistant Secretary of State Henry F. Grady, in his discussion of the "Altered Economic Position of Latin America (1931-1939)," said, "One of the most significant developments during the last decade has been the loss of control by many of the Latin-American nations of the proceeds of a considerable part of their exports through the operation of bilateral agreements with the European countries which forced such proceeds to be utilized only for imports from such countries or for specific financial purposes." "So long as such trend continues," he added, "we cannot fail to take note of the possibility of such pressure being applied for other than economic ends."

Dr. Grady commented upon current industrialization in Latin America as follows:

As the economies of the American republics grow and mature the trend towards industrialization may be expected to increase and, in so far as it rests on a sound economic basis, it may be reflected in a growing volume of international trade resulting in benefits to all countries concerned. The recent movement, however, has been due partly to abnormal economic conditions brought about by development of bilateralism in the trade relations of Latin-American republics as well as other countries. It reflects in part the disintegration of the international economic system on which the prosperity of Latin America is especially dependent.

After further analyzing the contemporary results of Latin America's economic plight and pointing out the activities of the United States in attempting to alleviate the condition, the Secretary said, summing up importance of research in this field:

It is important that we have a thorough understanding of economic developments in Latin America in the recent past in order that we may be better equipped to solve the difficulties which lie ahead for the nations of that area in their relations with the rest of the world and in our own relations with them. Accordingly, it would seem desirable in formulating projects for the study of present and future inter-American economic problems to give adequate attention to recent trends and the factors involved in order that they may be understood and dealt with intelligently.

Dr. Phelps, in reporting on Dr. Frederick's paper, advanced the theory that the fundamental economic difficulty with the Latin-American economy is that the world is in the middle of a "Raw Commodity Revolution," which revolution is due to: (1) mechanization of agriculture; (2) technological advance in acquisition of raw materials; (3) struggle between natural raw materials and synthetic substitutes. Latin America, as a raw material producing con-

tinents, is caught in this revolution and any cure will have to consider and appreciate the importance of this fundamental change.

Mr. King, of the Associated Press, introduced a somewhat different note into the Conference when he said:

Throughout the day's discussion I could but think of the great gulf between the knowledge of these problems, the understanding of the continental problems on the part of the delegates to this Conference, and the lack of understanding and knowledge of the background of the average person, the average newspaper reader, for instance. There is a great journalistic function to be performed.

The topic of the fourth session, the "Effects of World War II on the Pan American Economic Situation," was covered by the two papers presented by Dr. Amos Taylor, Chief of the Finance Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, and by Dr. George Wythe, Liaison Officer, Department of Commerce. These papers were discussed by Francisco Millet, Director, Dallas and North Texas Foreign Trade Association, and by Mr. T. J. Caldwell, Vice-President of the Union National Bank of Houston. Dr. Herbert Gambrell of Southern Methodist University presided over the session.

Dr. Taylor opened the session with a paper on "Financial Problems and Readjustments." In laying his general background he said, "In Latin America financial developments are greatly influenced by trade developments because their domestic economy is directly influenced by the world's demand for basic agricultural products and raw materials." Furthermore, despite differences in degree every one of the Latin-American nations is a net debtor nation.

Therefore if the world demand for the commodities through the sale of which she can accumulate surplus foreign exchange falls, the maintenance of financial stability would be jeopardized, and unless it is possible to neutralize the initial shock through gold export, early default will result. In any event domestic economy is seriously affected whether through the loss of gold, through defaults, or through both, and in the end the imposition of exchange and import controls becomes the signal of an already disturbed financial situation.

The outbreak of the war found the majority of the Latin-American countries suffering from this sequence of developments. Some were in partial or total default on their indebtedness. Many were conducting their foreign trade under some system of restriction, whether through exchange control, clearing or quasi-clearing agreements, compensation agreements or direct barter arrangements.

Statistics reveal a close tie-up between economic conditions in this country and financial stability or instability in Latin America. This is increased by dependence upon the United States travel expend-

itures as a source of substantial income by some of the Caribbean countries.

Dr. Taylor's conclusion was,

The available statistics relating to the international financial position of the Latin-American countries as a whole do not on the surface indicate that by the end of 1939 the impact of the European war had produced any clear-cut developments. On the other hand, the loss of important markets vital to certain countries, and, more particularly, to certain types of enterprise, has made it obvious that the economy of these countries has been subjected to new stresses and strains.

In analyzing "Trade Problems and Readjustments" Dr. George Wythe introduced one of the outstanding problems of the Conference when, after summarizing the general Latin-American trade and economic situation, he stated that "the trend of recent events portends hemisphere self-sufficiency."

Following through the results of such a trend, Dr. Wythe showed that self-sufficiency means finding a market for sixty per cent of Latin-American exports with a value of over a billion dollars. It means meeting individual problems such as the disposition of the seventy-five per cent of Argentina's exports that normally go to Europe, the fifty per cent of Chile's non-mineral exports that normally goes to Germany, and Brazil's fifty per cent usually absorbed by other than American countries. At the same time the Western Hemisphere takes only one third of United States exports and the disposal of the remaining two thirds will have to be considered.

Of the various suggestions for hemispheric sufficiency, Dr. Wythe analyzed two, the cartel plan and the formation of a surplus buying corporation financed in the United States. Referring to general dislike for trade controls he made the point that "none of us like controls, but as long as we have them at home we'll have them abroad."

To improve United States imports from Latin America, a necessary part of the self-sufficiency movement, he called attention to recent industrial diversification offering a greater selection of goods, to tourist traffic which accomplished the same result as import trade, and to possibilities for the development in Latin America of a source of supply for handicrafts which the United States formerly received from Asia and central Europe.

Dr. Wythe concluded with a prediction of greater development along the lines of self-sufficiency.

We are going to have a great deal of war for a good while to come and we might as well be prepared for it and be adaptable to any circumstances. . . . It may be necessary for us to go much further than we have ever dreamed of going before in order to work out a program of . . . inter-American coöperation in the production and marketing of Latin-American commodities.

Mr. Millet in his discussion strongly supported hemispheric solidarity and defended the cartel project as an emergency measure.

Mr. Caldwell argued that any attempt at surplus buying on the part of the United States must be accompanied by "heroic but ridiculous attempts to control prices" and is "doomed to ultimate failure." "Latin America is going to buy from us only so long as we sell them what they need at competitive prices, and they are going to sell to us only so long as we can absorb their surpluses at world levels." "We must make it possible," he concluded, "for efficient economic activities to compete with the whole world, by being allowed to purchase foreign industrial products at world prices."

Following the formal discussion a number of suggestions were made and observations offered; in fact there was a greater variety of subject material presented in the informal discussions at this session than at any other.

Dr. Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education, suggested the expansion of the Export-Import Bank as a means of meeting economic problems. To this Dr. Taylor agreed but referred to administrative difficulties in changing the purpose of the bank and getting congressional approval.

Dr. Phelps predicted that the cartel plan would never be agreed to and called it "fantastic" because of lack of production control.

Dr. Duggan recommended giving Europe a chance at getting "decent trade" before self-sufficiency is resorted to.

Dr. Mecham suggested that the United States government increase its subsidy to steamship companies so that they could offer more attractive tourist rates to Latin America, thereby increasing the southern countries' supply of dollar exchange obtained from tourist expenditures. Dr. Taylor endorsed the suggestion.

Dr. Deák warned against studying the situation in the way we have been doing for the last five or six years. "It is five minutes of twelve."

Dr. Wythe also reminded the audience that "there is a war on."

The fifth and final session was devoted to a consideration of "The Need and Opportunities for Scholarly Research Helpful for the Formulation of a Post-War Hemisphere Policy." The single formal paper assigned for this session, entitled "The Kind of Preparatory Work, Relating to Western Hemisphere Problems, Which Needs to Be Done, in Anticipation of Possible American Participation in the War Settlement," was presented by Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, Chief of the Division of Classification, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Although Dr. Hill declared that "the likelihood of any direct par-

ticipation of the United States or the American nations in the European peace settlement is remote," he nevertheless believes that the future peace settlement will confront America with a most serious situation—a condition "which will undoubtedly be inherent in the philosophy of force as applied by the victors, and which will result from the attempt to apply their political and economic ideology."

Having emphasized that "the present struggle is that of democracy against totalitarianism" and "even this part of the world is confronted with the possibility of armed conflict and the probability of a clash in economic and trade relations," Dr. Hill proceeded to define the essential nature of the totalitarian and democratic ideas. "In view of the conflict of these two ideals . . . a grave problem is presented to scholarship, which demands a solution. This solution seems to lie in a re-study of democracy and the democratic processes." He urged that in this re-study and re-evaluation of democracy "emphasis be placed upon its strength and the vital forces which contribute to its progress." "Its means for achieving action must be adequately surveyed." In sum, "attention should be given to determining the methods to make democracy work on an even wider scale and to meet the actual conditions which pervade the world." As opposed to the potentialities of democracy, it was the speaker's conviction, supported by knowledge of world experience and historical record, that the "isms" now rampant cannot make a positive or permanent contribution to human well-being.

"A number of projects," said the speaker, "may be suggested for the consideration of scholars interested in preparing this hemisphere to play its rôle in connection with the events which will derive from the conclusion of the present world war." Those mentioned in general terms are: (1) the political factors essential to a successful democracy; (2) the aspects of cultural relations as contributing to better understanding and coöperation between the Americas; (3) consideration of international harmony and the respect for rights of others which is inherent in civilized international relations; (4) an examination of the economic phase of life in the American republics; and (5) an analysis of trade relations with a view to establishing satisfactory adjustments between the agricultural and industrial sections of the Western Hemisphere. In conclusion, said Dr. Hill, "the task of scholarship is to assist in discovering the means to reduce the inefficiency of democracy and develop ways for its effectual functioning. . . . [It] faces the problem of aiding in building up American democracy in its highest and best form on the basis of the twenty-one American republics and Canada."

Following Dr. Hill's paper, the four discussion leaders, acting as *rapporteurs* for each of the preceding sessions, reported on "The subjects which, in light of the previous discussion, have been revealed as offering opportunities for scientific examination." The *rapporteurs* were Dr. Arthur P. Whitaker, Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania; Dr. Francis Deák, Professor of International Law, Columbia University; Dr. S. D. Myres, Jr., Director of the Institute of Public Affairs, Southern Methodist University; and Dr. W. W. Pierson, Jr., Dean of the Graduate School, University of North Carolina.

The research projects suggested by the *rapporteurs* and others are listed below without undertaking to identify the original proposers. From a considerable number proposed, those which seemed to have greater merit are the following:

A. Political

1. The problem of intervention in Inter-American relations. (The basic factors responsible for the conflicting U. S. and Latin-American conceptions of the right of intervention—a critical historical survey of intervention in U. S.-Latin-American relations—the problem of reconciling antagonistic views.)
2. The Pan-American movement. (An investigation of the practical, factual reasons why the movement has not been more successful—a study of the real and artificial common basic factors for hemispheric co-operation.)
3. Pan Hispanism, Latin Americanism, and other manifestations of a desire to unite Latin America. (The forces and factors working for and against Latin-American coöperation on terms which would exclude the United States—the rôle of fascist Spain and Portugal.)
4. "The Anatomy of Revolution in Latin America." (Why is it that minorities start revolutions and carry them to a successful conclusion? Do recent technological developments tend to "freeze" political régimes and reduce the frequency of successful revolutions?)
5. The nature, substance, and direction of the dangers which threaten the American way of life. (A thorough investigation and objective presentation of the plans and ambitions of the totalitarian states affecting the Americas as revealed by their qualified authoritative spokesmen.)
6. The influence of the military missions and the education of Latin-American officers in foreign countries on the internal political developments in Latin America.
7. The Good Neighbor Policy. (A stock-taking of Latin-American co-operation and respect secured by a trimming of rights and pretensions.)

B. Economic

1. Surveys of the tariff régimes of the Latin-American countries. (The trend away from fiscalism to protectionism.)
2. Problems of currency relations as they affect the various Latin-American countries.

3. The balance of payments and the weight of existing debt structures.
4. The integration of the economies of the Americas. (An investigation of the prospects and possibilities of greater correlation.)
5. Industrialization in Latin America. (The problem of self-sufficiency vs. foreign trade and its prospects in Latin America.)
6. The Reciprocal Trade Agreements. (A factual study of their influence on U. S.-Latin-American trade.)
7. Fact-finding surveys covering a wide range of subjects, such as: public finance, taxation budgeting, industrial finance, marketing, agricultural finance, etc.
8. The economic effects of World War I upon Latin America compared with those of World War II. (A study of the altered economic position of Latin America in relation to the war—also the altered position of the United States toward Latin America.)

C. Cultural and General

1. The cultural impact of the United States upon Latin America.
2. Cultural influences of Latin America upon the United States.
3. The European cultural and other ties that bind Latin America to Europe. (The functional significance of these trans-Atlantic ties still remains to be shown by careful, comprehensive study.)
4. The techniques employed by the totalitarian states in their penetration of Latin America. (Propaganda and other agencies.)
5. Social and political trends in Latin America. (These tendencies often affect our relations, the safety of our investments, and flow of American exports.)
6. The reaction of Latin America to the political, commercial, and cultural overtures of the United States. (It would be helpful for relations and the formulation of policy if we knew which of our plans go well in Latin America and which do not.)

Note: Research subjects proposed in the earlier sessions are not included in the above list.

University of Texas.

J. LLOYD MECHAM,
Chairman, Conference Program Committee.

LATIN-AMERICAN SESSION OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER, 1940

The program committee of the Latin-American session of the American Historical Association believes that wider discussion might be encouraged by the circulation of advance information on the subjects to be treated. For that reason the editors of the *REVIEW* are glad to begin the annual advance publication of the program. The December, 1940, program is as follows:

TOPIC: LATIN AMERICA AND THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY
ENLIGHTENMENT

Chairman: A. S. Aiton, University of Michigan

The Dual Rôle of Latin America in Relation to the Enlightenment

Arthur P. Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania

French Contributions to the Enlightenment in Latin America

Roland D. Hussey, University of California, Los Angeles

Inter-American Aspects of the Enlightenment

Harry Bernstein, The College of the City of New York

The Reception of the Enlightenment in Latin America

John Tate Lanning, Duke University

The discussion will be led by the chairman.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH CONFERENCE ON
INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

On last July 10 the University of Pittsburgh conducted a conference on Inter-American Affairs notable for its blending of the opinions of academic and business men. The program, in essence, was as follows:

MORNING SESSION

"Sociological Movements in the Americas"—Dr. Harold A. Phelps.

"Transportation in Relation to Commercial Intercourse Between the Countries of the Americas"—Mr. Charles Donley.

"Problems in Education in Latin America"—Dr. Ernesto Galarza.

LUNCHEON SESSION

"Some Observations on the Fifth Column in the Americas"—Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven.

"Aeronautics in the Military Defense of the Americas"—Major Al Williams.

"Labor and Social Welfare"—Dr. Ernesto Galarza.

AFTERNOON SESSION

"Obstacles in the Way of Inter-American Solidarity"—Dr. Domenic de la Salandra.

"Inter-American Trade Relations" (discussion)—Leader: Mr. V. J. Usher.

"The Study of Latin America"—Dr. Ernesto Galarza.

Dr. Cleven, of the faculty of the University of Pittsburgh, demonstrated again that research in relatively remote subjects has not despoiled his very fundamental concern with modern Latin-American and Inter-American problems. Dr. Ernesto Galarza who, as a Mexican-

American, is an admirable representative of the Pan American Union, was called upon three times in the day. No one is better informed nor speaks with more authority on modern educational affairs of Latin America. His keen analysis and advantageous position made him exceptionally convincing in his brilliant address, "The Study of Latin America."

Major Al Williams, Scripps-Howard aviation editor and an internationally known authority on aeronautics, discussed the timely question of aviation in the defense of America. Mr. Charles Donley, traffic counselor, and Mr. V. J. Usher, trade adviser, Mellon National Bank, as well as Major Williams, added the realistic tone which university professors now appreciate more and more. Reports indicate that this strikingly organized conference was a distinct success.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

THE BEGINNING OF PRINTING IN AMERICA*

The use of powder sounded the death knell of chivalry and the end of feudalism in western Europe. The less perceptible click of the printing press, whose widespread use was the natural result of the invention of moveable type and the introduction of the use of paper, marked the dawn of modern civilization and placed within reach of all men able to read the thoughts and ideas of the greatest minds. No force or influence in the development of our present culture is greater than that of the printing press. It revolutionized the spread of civilization by multiplying with incredible rapidity the reproduction of ideas. It brought to increasing numbers the record of man's achievements and of man's loftiest conceptions and aspirations. Its product became the leaven that leavened the whole mass.

It is well to pause in the maddening rush of the bewildering excitement of modern life to reflect for a moment on the beginnings of this art in America, on this the four-hundredth anniversary. It was to the use of the press by a certain Americus Vespuccius that the new world, two continents in fact, owe their name, robbing its illustrious discoverer of this honor. Coming closer home, the application of this name in a more restricted sense to what constitutes the United States may be attributed to the same source. These are but instances of the power of the printed word. But we will use the term in its widest application to designate that new world which Columbus discovered and which today is perhaps the hope of modern civilization. It is our purpose to describe briefly the circumstances attendant upon the introduction of the printing press in both Spanish and Anglo America, to summarize the most signal achievements during its early years, and to trace the development and growth of printing and the rôle it played in the development of new-world culture.

When one stops to consider that the use of moveable type was not begun until 1455, "It is surprising," says a student of printing, "to find that in less than one hundred years such excellent printing was done in Mexico, from a press brought to this country only forty-seven

* Address read at the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Catholic Library Association held in Washington, April 11-14, 1939.

years after Columbus discovered the American continent."¹ Be it ever to the credit of the Franciscan, Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, that this surprising achievement was made possible four hundred years ago.

By order of Emperor Charles V, Zumárraga was called to Madrid on January 25, 1531. But traveling in those days was not as rapid as today. Not until March, 1533, did Zumárraga arrive in Madrid. He had been in Mexico for almost three years prior to the call and had learned from personal observation and contact the needs of the new colony. He now met the recently appointed viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, discussed the problems of Mexico with him, and presented several memorials to the king on the needs for the development of the country. It is significant that one of the first things he noted as indispensable was the creation of a library. "Because the greatest need experienced by the Church and all the land is that of a good library to solve the doubts and questions that arise daily," he declared, "I beg Your Highness and Lords to order and command what portion of the tithes shall be used for the purchase [of books] and expenses thereof."² Zumárraga had, in fact, brought to Mexico in 1528 his private library, consisting of almost two hundred volumes, to which he continued to add until the day of his death, when it passed to the Franciscan friary in Mexico City, San Francisco el Grande. Eloquent testimony touching the character of his library, the first on the American continent, are five volumes now in the library of the University of Texas, each volume neatly inscribed in his own even and clear hand "Es del obpo. de Mexico. f. Joa. de Zumárraga." Among these are Thomas More's *Utopia*, printed in Basle in 1518, and the two-volume edition of John Gerson's works, printed in Paris in 1521. The copy of More's *Utopia* has numerous marginal notes and underlinings in a hand resembling that of the illustrious Vasco de Quiroga, first bishop of Michoacán, who organized and founded the first Utopian colony in the new world.³

¹ Henry Horgan, "The Oldest American Book" in Introduction to *The Doctrina Breve* (publications of the United States Catholic Historical Society. New York, 1929).

² Zumárraga, *Memorial*, undated. Cited in José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en México* (8 vols., Santiago de Chile, 1909-11), I, xxxv.

³ Quiroga was a close friend of Zumárraga and there is a strong possibility that he used this copy of the *Utopia* as the basis for his "Regulations" for the Hospital de Santa Fé. The five books of Zumárraga's library are: *Propugnaculum Ecclesie. adversus Lutheranos; per Iudocum Clichtoveum neoportuensem*. Cologne, 1526; *De Sacramento eucharistiae . . . Iudocum Clichtoveum*. Cologne, 1527; *De optimo Reip Statu Deque nova insula Utopia . . . Thomas More*. Basle, 1518; *Prima Pars Joannis Gersonis Studii Lutetiani Cancellari . . . Item epistole*

But let us return to our subject. In another memorial of the same year (1533) Zumárraga made the formal request that was to result six years later in the establishment of the first commercial printing press in Mexico. "Likewise it seems it would be a useful and convenient thing that there should be a printing press and a paper mill in that country," he stated, adding that since there were persons who desired to go, "His Majesty should grant them some aid to enable them to implant this art."⁴ The original memorial now in the Archives of the Indies in Seville bears a marginal notation directing the officials to grant transportation expenses and the necessary privileges. "It was impossible," says García Icazbalceta, "that one who had brought craftsmen, seeds, ornaments, books and everything which he thought necessary for the glory of the Church and the welfare of his flock could have forgotten so important an aid as the printing press."⁵

Just when did the first printing press come and when was the first press brought to America? The baffling question of priority can now be satisfactorily solved by following events chronologically. The facts seem to indicate that the first printer to come and to exercise his trade was Esteban Martín, who arrived in 1534; that it was he who brought the first press with a very modest and no doubt inadequate supply of type; and that in 1539 this first press was replaced by the first commercial printing establishment in the new world, opened as a branch of the firm of Juan Cromberger of Seville. Let us take up the thread of events.

Zumárraga returned to Mexico in 1534, but the first viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, did not come until the following year. It is claimed on good authority that in that year the *Escala Espiritual para llegar al cielo, traduccion del latín al castellano por el ven. padre Juan de Estrada* was published in Mexico and that two years later, in 1537, a *Catecismo Mexicano* was likewise printed without indication of the printer. Unfortunately no copy of either has been found. However, a letter of Bishop Zumárraga to the Emperor, written on May 6, 1538, leaves no doubt that there was a printer and a printing press in Mexico at that time, whose operation had been temporarily affected by the scarcity of paper. "Little progress can be made with our printing," declares Zumárraga, "because of the scarcity of paper,

quedam de miraculis auctoris et de vita eius epitome. Paris, 1521; *Secunda Pars Joannis Gersonis.* Paris, 1521.

⁴ Zumárraga, *Memorial*, undated. Cited by Medina in *op. cit.*, I, xxxvi.

⁵ García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicano del Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1885), p. x.

which makes difficult the publication of the many works that here are ready for the press and of others that should be reprinted. Those that come from there [Spain] are few.'"⁶ That the printer was no other than Esteban Martín is confirmed by his admission to citizenship (*vecino*) by the city council of Mexico on September 5, 1539, where his trade is given as *imprimidor* (printer). At this time a five years' residence was required for the enjoyment of the privileges of a *vecino*. Consequently it is safe to deduce that he came with Bishop Zumárraga in 1534, that he exercised his trade under great handicaps from that year on, and that he was the printer of the much discussed *Escala Espiritual* of 1535, and the *Catecismo Mexicano* of 1537, as well as of other unrecorded books.⁷

Such are the remote and informal beginnings of printing in the new world, which found a welcome in Mexico City under the auspices of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga. It is deplorable but not strange that all copies of the first productions of the humble press of Esteban Martín should have been destroyed by time and hard use. Most of the works that issued from his press, if we are to judge by the years immediately following, must have been catechisms and doctrinal books that did not survive ruthless handling.

The letter of Zumárraga of May 6, 1538, and perhaps appeals of Viceroy Mendoza,⁸ soon brought about arrangements for the formal establishment of a printing firm with sufficient resources to meet the increasing demand for books and the vicissitudes of economic stress that beset Esteban Martín. When we come to 1539, we are on solid ground. The records are sufficiently full and complete to dispense with conjecture. From this year dates the unbroken operation of printing in America. It is for this reason that it deserves to be commemorated this year, on its four-hundredth anniversary, as the most significant event in the history of new-world culture, comparable only to the inauguration of the first university in 1553.

On June 12, 1539, Juan Cromberger, owner of a well-known printing house in Seville and a printer by trade, entered into a formal

⁶ Letter of Zumárraga to Charles V, May 6, 1538. Cited by García Icazbalceta, *op. cit.*, p. x.

⁷ For a discussion of this interesting question compare Medina, *La Imprenta en México*, I, xlvii-lvi and E. Valton, *Impresos Mexicanos del Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1935), pp. 1-15. Henry R. Wagner dismisses the subject rather lightly in his introduction to *Mexican Imprints, 1544-1600, in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1940).

⁸ "With regard to Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, our efforts to discover something of his that might be related to the printing press proved fruitless," says Medina in *La Imprenta en México*, I, xxxvi.

contract with Juan Pablos, an Italian of Brescia, Lombardy, also a printer, and with Gil Barbero, a pressman, whereby the last two agreed to go to Mexico to establish a branch of the firm. Cromberger agreed to furnish a press and the necessary type and equipment to the value of one hundred thousand *maravedís* (about \$3,000.00), to pay for the cost of its transportation and the passage of the two printers, to furnish them board and the necessary spending money for the trip, and to pay the master printer one hundred and fifty ducats in gold a year and forty-eight ducats to the pressman. Pablos was furthermore to receive one fifth of the net profits, but he was not to use his name in any imprint. This explains why all the books printed in Mexico up to 1548 bear the imprint "En casa de Juan Cromberger" (in the house of Juan Cromberger). Pablos was to destroy all type worn out, to prevent its being used by any other press. Cromberger obtained from the king a monopoly not only in the printing business but in the sale of all books imported from Spain. Pablos was bound by the contract for a period of ten years as printer, administrator, legal representative, and bookseller of Juan Cromberger, while the pressman was to serve three years before he could be relieved of his obligations. A Negro slave was given to Pablos as assistant. The terms as to the minimum work to be turned out were extremely severe. Pablos was to increase production to an average of three thousand pages a day and to be responsible for each individual page. Such were the chief terms and conditions under which the first printing press was to be established in America.⁹

Juan Pablos, his wife, the Negro slave, and Gil Barbero sailed shortly afterwards on the ship *Miguel de Jáuregui*, which transported also the press, type, paper, ink, and other equipment.¹⁰ It is generally agreed that they arrived in Mexico not later than September, where they set up the printing press in the Casa de las Campanas (House of the Bells), said to have been on the corner of Moneda and Santa Teresa la Antigua streets, opposite the residence of Bishop Juan de Zumárraga at that time.¹¹

Work was begun apparently soon after their arrival, for before the end of the year the *Breve y mas compendiosa Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Mexicana y Castellana*, a quarto volume of twelve leaves,

⁹ Medina, *op. cit.*, I, lx-lxi. The number of pages seems excessive, but that is the way it is given. It has been estimated that three hundred pages was a good day's work. Horgan, "The Oldest American Book," in *The Doctrina Breve*, p. 17.

¹⁰ Medina, *op. cit.*, lxiii-lxiv.

¹¹ García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, p. xi; Medina, *op. cit.*, p. lxviii; Horgan, "Oldest American Book," p. 17.

issued from the press¹² This is the first production of the American press of which we have definite notice, although unfortunately the only copy known has disappeared and no one has seen it since it was first described.¹³

The second piece was the *Manual de adultos*, printed in 1540, of which only three pages are known.¹⁴ The third item to appear was the *Relación del espantable terremoto*, in 1541. It is an account of the storm and cloudburst that visited the city of Guatemala on September 10 and 11, 1541. During this storm the widow of the famous conquistador Don Pedro de Alvarado perished, when the private chapel in which she and ten other ladies of her household sought refuge was swept away by the roaring waters. Only a fragment of this, the first news broadside printed in America, now remains.¹⁵

There was a complete lull in the activity of the press in 1542, which may have been the result of a scarcity of paper and other supplies occasioned by the death of Juan Cromberger in Seville late in 1540, or by the uncertainty of Pablos as to his future relations with the heirs of his former employer. Early in 1543, however, the *Doctrina christiana breve para enseñanza de los niños* by Zumárraga seems to have been printed, but no copy of the book has yet come to light.¹⁶

In the latter part of this year the *Doctrina Breve muy provechosa de las cosas que pertenecen a la fe católica y a nuestra cristianidad* of Zumárraga was begun, but for some unknown reason it was not finished until June of the following year. That it was fully expected it would be completed in 1543 is shown by the title page, which bears this date. In the colophon, however, it is unequivocally stated that the book was finished in the "House of Juan Cromberger" on June 14, 1544. This is more commonly known as the *Doctrina Breve* of Zumárraga to which attaches the signal distinction of being today

¹² For full description see Medina, *op. cit.*, No. 1.

¹³ *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877), 787.

¹⁴ The fragmentary portion was discovered in the binding of a later volume and is now in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Henry R. Wagner, "Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints," *Bibliographical Essays. A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 258.

¹⁵ This is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. The account was reprinted in Spain possibly shortly afterwards, but with no indication of place or date. It was reproduced in facsimile by José Santos Rayón at the close of the last century, and the text reproduced by Medina. See his *Imprenta en México*, I, No. 3, pp. 6-10.

¹⁶ Medina argues strongly in its favor, citing Beristain as his source, but García Icazbalceta is inclined to doubt its existence. Cf. Medina, *op. cit.*, I, No. 4; García Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga* (Mexico, 1881), p. 298.

the oldest book of the two Americas. Truly has it been said that this is "the earliest extant complete book to issue from the press in the Western Hemisphere, for only fragments remain of books printed in earlier years."¹⁷

Today nine copies of this book are known, of which two are defective. Of the seven complete copies, three are in Europe and four in America, one being in the University of Texas.¹⁸ It is a remarkable book when considered from the point of view of the printer. The make-up is "little less than marvelous." The title was cut on a solid block by hand, which was inserted in the portion of the shield used as a frame for the frontispiece. Here we have an example of hand-cut lettering, which although out of alignment at times, is nevertheless a good imitation of type and a clever piece of craftsmanship in itself. Being quarto size and containing eighty-four leaves, it has been estimated that a five hundred copy edition required twenty-one thousand impressions, which must have taken probably three months to finish. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the book is the even tenor of the impressions, explained by the fact that Pablos was paid only for perfect pages. Indians probably helped ink the leather pads with ink made perhaps from boiled linseed oil and soot from burnt pitch.¹⁹

It is well to keep in mind that the *Doctrina Breve* made its appearance only fifty-two years after Columbus discovered the new world, before Martin Luther had gone to his reward, and while Henry VIII was still living with his sixth wife. Charles V still dominated the European scene, the hosts of Coronado were still in New Mexico, and De Sotos' survivors were wandering beyond the Mississippi in the unexplored wilds of Arkansas and Texas. Sixty-nine years were to elapse before Jamestown was founded, and the pilgrim fathers were not to land upon the bleak shores of Plymouth Rock for more than four score of years. Viewed in this light the achievement assumes its true importance.

The development of printing in Mexico after 1543 was so rapid that it is impossible even to list in the brief compass of a short paper

¹⁷ The United States Catholic Historical Society of New York made a facsimile edition of the copy owned by the Hispanic Society of America. The *Doctrina Breve*.

¹⁸ In 1937 the University of Texas acquired the García Icazbalceta Collection of sixteenth-century imprints, with a total of forty-nine. Those credited by Wagner in his tabular census to the distinguished Mexican Bibliophile are now in the University of Texas Library. Wagner, "Sixteenth-Century Mexican Imprints," in *op. cit.*, pp. 258-267.

¹⁹ Horgan, "The Oldest American Book," *The Doctrina Breve*, pp. 17-21.

the books printed by Mexican presses during the sixteenth century. Juan Pablos enjoyed his monopoly until 1559, when an ambitious assistant, brought to Mexico by him, succeeded in securing permission to set up a rival press. By the end of the century nine different presses were in operation.

It was Antonio Espinosa who broke the monopoly, but he has another distinction, that of being the first to cut and cast type in America. In 1550 he and a certain Diego Montoya contracted in Seville with Juan López to work for Juan Pablos in Mexico as type-founders and die cutters. It is not known just when Espinosa and his assistant arrived, but their presence is clearly revealed in the radical change noted in the varied type forms used, beginning with the year 1554. Up to this time Gothic type had been employed exclusively. Now Roman and Italic types appear, and a marked improvement in the artistic and balanced composition of titles and text becomes noticeable. Espinosa brought to the printing art of the New World a high sense of artistry.²⁰

It was Espinosa who printed in 1561 what has been considered the most beautiful book of colonial days in America. In September of that year appeared the *Missale Romanum ordinarium*, a large and handsome folio volume of three hundred and thirty pages, in Gothic type, with decorative title-page in black and red, the design consisting of a wreath of fruits and flowers circled around a shield containing the letters I H S. In the text the music score for plain chant is likewise printed in black and red.²¹ Speaking of this book García Icazbalceta exclaims: "It appears incredible that a work of so much consequence and cost was executed by our press so shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century. I for one would doubt the deed, had I not the book before me. Today not a single Church book is printed here any more. All come to us from abroad. After three centuries there is no one with courage enough to undertake a missal like that of Antonio de Espinosa. It would be difficult to execute it, except at great expense and by expressly ordering the necessary type."²² The

²⁰ Until 1924, it had been thought that the first typesetting in America had been done in the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, in 1707. The first in Mexico was attributed to José Antonio Alzate, in 1770. For a discussion of the subject see Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Typesetting in Mexico" in *The Library, Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, Ser. 4, Vol. 8, pp. 119-122; also José Gestoso Pérez, *Noticias inéditas de impresores sevillanos* (Seville, 1934) for the full text of the contract entered into on September 24, 1550.

²¹ John Wright, *Early Prayer Books of America* (St. Paul, Minn., 1896), pp. 1-2.

²² García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, No. 41, pp. 123-124. Three copies of this work are known: two complete in the Huntington Library at San Marino and

character of the religious books that issued from the presses in Mexico in the years prior to 1600 were remarkable for their workmanship and artistic value. "Bearing in mind the age that gave these productions so soon after the invention of printing," declares Wright, "they cannot be pronounced otherwise than marvelous. They certainly reflect great credit upon the artistic taste of the early printers and publishers of the land of the Aztecs."²³

Since it is not possible to give even the titles of the two hundred thirty-four items issued by the presses in Mexico in the years between 1539 and 1600, the general character and number of the different types will have to suffice. Hardly a year passed in which one or more books did not make their appearance. In spite of all the efforts of bibliophiles, there are still many works that remain unknown, some of which may never come to light. But it is interesting to note that since the publication of the excellent pioneer bibliography of García Icazbalceta in 1886, the one hundred and sixteen titles listed by him have been raised through the efforts of Harris, Medina, Nicolás León, Winship, and Wagner to almost two hundred and fifty, or more than doubled.

The bulk of the production, particularly in the early years, was made up of works on Christian doctrine, catechisms, and books of religious instruction. Equally notable are the Indian grammars, vocabularies, and dictionaries of the languages spoken by the various tribes of Mexico, which today form such a rich repository for the study of native linguistics. In this type should also be included the numerous *confesionarios*, *doctrinas*, and other books of instruction written in the indigenous languages to aid the missionaries and natives alike.²⁴ In addition to the books that fall into these two groups, we find others on theology, philosophy, hagiography, medicine, history, psalters, rituals, sermons, songbooks, psalmody, missals, law, military science, nautical instruction, and arithmetic.

What proportion of these books were written by laymen? About one third of the authors probably were not religious. This fact is significant in revealing the high standard of scholarship in the ranks of the religious orders. An analysis of the authorship of the one

the New York Public respectively, and an imperfect copy in the John Carter Brown.

²³ Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁴ In this connection attention is called to Juan de Gaona, *Coloquios de la paz y tranquilidad christiana en lengua mexicana*, 1582. A translation in manuscript of this work page by page and line by line, in an unknown language, is bound with the copy possessed by García Icazbalceta now owned by the University of Texas.

hundred sixteen works listed by García Icazbalceta shows that forty-four of them were written by Franciscans, seventeen by Dominicans, sixteen by Augustinians, four by Jesuits, and one by a Carmelite.²⁵ But in view of the additions made to this list a new analysis is necessary to show the actual contribution of the religious orders to the book production during the first century.

Firsts have an inherent interest. We cannot resist the temptation to list briefly a few notable books that are first of their kind as far as it is possible to determine from all the information available. The first news broadside has already been noted. The first songbook with the first farce seems to have been published in 1546 under the title *Cancionero Spiritual . . . con una farsa*, but all efforts to locate the copy on which the description is based have proved futile.²⁶ If ever found, it will constitute the first literary and dramatic work to issue from the press in America.

The first Christian doctrine in the Mexican (Nahuatl) language was the *Doctrina Christiana breve en lengua Mexicana por el P. Alonso de Molina*, 1546, of which there is no copy known, but it was reprinted at least four times before the end of the century and its existence cannot be doubted.²⁷ To the same author we are likewise indebted for the first *Vocabulario en la lengua castellana y mexicana*, printed in 1555, which is the first dictionary to come from the press in America.

The first ordinances for the government of a European colony in America were published in Mexico in 1548 by Viceroy Mendoza. These were the *Ordenanzas y copilaciones de leyes hechas por el muy ilustre señor Don Antonio de Mendoza*. Only one copy of this work is known today and this is in the New York Public Library. In addition to being the first book of laws, it has the added distinction of having been formulated by the viceroy. The first compilation of Spanish laws for the government of its possessions was published in 1563 and is known as the *Cedulario de Puga*, but the title is *Provisiones, cédulas, instrucciones de su Majestad*.²⁸

²⁵ Zephyrin Englehardt, O. F. M., "The Earliest Books in the New World," *The Doctrina Breve*, pp. 12-13.

²⁶ García Icazbalceta first noticed a reference to this work in the notes contributed by Gayangos and Vedia to the Spanish translation of George Ticknor's *Historia de la Literatura Española* (4 vols., Madrid, 1851-56), III, 509. He obtained a full bibliographical description later from Francisco González de Vera but when he tried to locate the original he was unable to do so. (García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía*, No. 12, pp. 19-20.) Medina had no better luck. The work is attributed to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. ²⁷ Medina, *op. cit.*, I, 30-33.

²⁸ The copy in the University of Texas Library is complete, contrary to the

The first treatise on theology was the *Copilación breve de un tratado de San Buenaventura que se llama mística teología*, published in 1549, of which there is a copy in the John Carter Brown Library.²⁹

It is to Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, first holder of the chair of rhetoric in the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, a distinguished latinist, that we owe the first literary essays published in 1554 as *Commentaria in Ludovici Vives Exercitationes Linguae Latinae*. Opposite page 227 there is a second title page which precedes three original essays in which the author describes the University, the City of Mexico, and its environments. The only copy of this work known belonged to García Icazbalceta and is now in the University of Texas.³⁰

This same year another teacher of the Mexican University wrote the first textbook on philosophy printed in Mexico. It is the *Recognitio Summularum* of the versatile and learned Augustinian, Fray Alonso de la Veracruz, who found time to publish another textbook before the end of 1554, his *Dialectica resolutio cum textu Aristotelis*. Copies of these two valuable books are now in the University of Texas. Both of these treatises went through several editions in Spain, proof of their unquestioned soundness and of the scholarship of the author. It is worthy of reflection that Mexico should have given the mother country cultural textbooks in the mother of all sciences within thirty-four years after its conquest.³¹

The year 1556 saw the printing of two constitutions, one arithmetic, and a Christian doctrine in the language of the Indians of Guatemala, all being firsts of their kind. They are the *Constitutiones Fratrum Heremitarum* (Augustinian Order); *Constituciones del arzobispado y Provincia de la muy Insigne y muy Leal Ciudad de Tenuxtitlan*; *Sumario compendioso de las cuentas de plata y oro en los reinos del Peru*; and the *Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Guatemalteca*.

The first book on physics, the *Phisica speculatio*, was written by Fray Alonso de la Veracruz and printed in 1557. It is the first book of science produced in America. Like his other two textbooks this was

notation made by Wagner in *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261. There are six other copies in the United States.

²⁹ For description of this and all other imprints cited consult Medina's monumental work, *La Imprenta en México*, Vol. I.

³⁰ García Icazbalceta translated the three last essays into Spanish and published them in Mexico in 1875 under the title *Mexico en 1554*. This edition, limited to 180 copies, has also become rare and is highly prized for the learned introduction by the editor-translator.

³¹ For a list and description of the various European editions of these two textbooks see Medina, *op. cit.*, I, 61-68.

reprinted in Spain for the first time in 1562 and twice before the end of the century.³²

It was Doctor Francisco Bravo who wrote the first book on medicine to be published in America; namely, his *Opera Medicinalia in qbus qz plurima extantcitu medico necessaria*. . . . In spite of the confusion caused by the erroneous date (1549) engraved on the frontispiece, the real date of its printing has been definitely established as 1570. Only two copies, one complete and one imperfect, are known today. Speaking of medicine, it may be noted that eight years later Dr. Alonso López de Hinojoso published the first work on surgery entitled *Summa y Recopilación de Chirugía*, with a treatise on the useful and beneficent art of bleeding. It was printed in the "House of Antonio Ricardo," the sixth printer to come to Mexico, who, the following year, 1579, was to go to Peru to establish there the first printing press in Lima, from which came the *Pragmatica* in 1584, known as the first Peruvian imprint.³³

The first Latin grammar was written by Father Manuel Álvarez, a Jesuit, and printed in 1579 as *De constructione octo partium Orationis*. Up to this time European editions had been used in the Jesuit colleges and several different texts published in Spain and Portugal by other authors are known to have been popular. The work of Álvarez is the first of its kind printed in America, but like most early textbooks it is extremely rare and only fragmentary copies have survived the ruthless hand of time and students.

Strange as it may seem, the first treatise on military science was written by a member of the royal *Audiencia*, the highest tribunal in Mexico, in the year 1583. It was printed by Pedro Ocharte as *Diálogos Militares de la Formación e información de Personas Instrumentos y cosas necesarias para el buen uso de la Guerra*. The author explains that it may cause astonishment to some that a lawyer should write on the art of war, but that since everything concerning law had been so well and so wisely explained already, he decided to give the public his thoughts on things military.³⁴

The first psalter was printed by Pedro de Ocharte in 1584. Of this book García Icazbalceta says "It is a choir book executed with admirable care, a notable example of the work done in our first print-

³² A copy is now in the University of Texas. This was acquired from García Icazbalceta. Wagner does not list this copy in his table. Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-259, where only two copies are recorded, one in the British Museum and one in the John Carter Brown Library.

³³ Of this rare work on surgery by López de Hinojoso there is only one copy known and this is in the Huntington Library at San Marino.

³⁴ Medina has erroneously numbered the entry 98; it should be 95.

ing presses." The title and the scores are in black and red, as well as the capital letters. There is a copy in the University of Texas.³⁵

But we must bring this list of firsts to a close. Let us mention as the last one the first book printed on nautical science, written by Diego García de Palacio and printed by Ocharte in 1587 as *Instruccion Nauthica para el buen uso y regimiento de las Naos*. There is a copy of this interesting volume in the New York Public Library.

In commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the formal introduction of the printing press in America, it is well to commemorate at the same time the three-hundredth anniversary of the first press within the present limits of the United States, which by a happy coincidence occurred a century later. We will attempt, therefore, to review briefly its birth and early accomplishments.

"It is not an uninteresting fact," says Roden, "that religious enthusiasm was the principal factor in the foundation of the press [in the English colonies], as it was in the establishment of the earliest press of North America."³⁶ To a dissenting minister, the Reverend Joseph Glover, rector of Sutton, in Surrey, England, we owe the first press brought to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1638, and to fate that this press came under the direction of the president of the young college of Harvard, into whose ownership it was eventually to pass.

Early in 1638 Glover tendered his resignation as rector in order to emigrate to New England for the purpose of establishing a printing press there. At his own expense he provided a font of type, and with the aid of forty-nine pounds donated by friends he was able to buy a press and other necessary equipment. On June 7 of the same year, we find Glover in London, where he entered into an agreement with Stephen Daye to take charge of the press.³⁷

Not long after, Glover, his wife, and the Stephen Daye family, consisting of Stephen, Sr., Stephen, Jr., and Mathew, set sail for America on board *The John of London*. But fate decreed otherwise. The Reverend Glover took sick shortly after the ship sailed and died before Plymouth Rock was reached, leaving his second wife, the young and attractive Elizabeth Harris, to carry out the enterprise. It seems that Mrs. Glover rented a part of the house of Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, and there set up the press. The close association resulted in the early marriage of Glover's widow and Dunster.³⁸

³⁵ García Icazbalceta, *op. cit.*, No. 95, pp. 324-325.

³⁶ Robert F. Roden, *The Cambridge Press* (New York, 1905), pp. 9-11.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

³⁸ *Stephen Daye and His Successors* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 10-11.

While credit has been given to Stephen Daye for having been the first printer within the present limits of the United States, the fact remains that Stephen senior was not a printer by trade, but a locksmith. Neither was Stephen junior a printer. It was Mathew, a young boy about eighteen, who in reality must have operated the first press at Cambridge, since it seems that he had worked for a short time as an apprentice in London.³⁹

Just when did the press arrive in Cambridge? It must have been set up before October 10, 1638, because on that date Hugh Poters, teacher of the First Church in Salem, wrote to a friend then in Bermuda saying, "Wee have a printery here and thinke to goe to worke with some speciall things, and if you have any thing you may send it safely."⁴⁰ But it seems that the first known piece to issue from the new press came early in 1639 and very significantly, it was a small broadside entitled *The Oath of a Free-man*, of which no copy is known to be extant.⁴¹

It is said that that same year an almanac was printed for a certain Mr. William Pierce, mariner, but no copy has come to light, the same being true of a similar publication printed in 1640. It was in this year, however, that the justly celebrated "Bay Psalm Book," whose true title is *The Whole Books of Psalms Faithfully translated into English metre*, consisting of one hundred forty-eight leaves, small octavo, came off the Cambridge press. We cannot do better than to quote what Evans has to say about this the oldest complete book extant today printed within the present limits of the United States. "Printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the same place; by Stephen Daye, the first printer; on the first press imported in the young Colony; from new type; it is, despite its many typographical errors, bad spacing and punctuation, inverts and mixed letters, and irregular justifying, the most interesting monument of early printing in the literary history of the United States."⁴² Eleven copies are known, of which six are imperfect.

Time does not permit me to list even the most important productions of the first press of the United States. An idea of the character and amount of printing done from 1639 to 1665 may be gained from a brief summary. During these years, according to the compilation of imprints made by Evans, ninety-seven pieces were published. Of these fifteen were psalm books and portions of the Bible, sixteen were law and politics, twenty-one almanacs, twenty-five catechisms and re-

³⁹ Roden, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴¹ Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903), No. 1.

⁴² Charles Evans, *op. cit.*, No. 4.

ligious books, five theses, one spelling book, eleven sermons, one report of a synod, one poetry, and one on the expansion of Harvard College. The history of printing in the United States is too well known to justify our going into details at this time.

It is interesting to note, however, that in Spanish America the same as in the English colonies, printing owed its introduction to religious enthusiasm. In both instances the first productions were chiefly books on religion, followed shortly by books on instruction written in the native languages. The number of these and of grammars and dictionaries of indigenous dialects was much greater in Spanish America than in the English colonies. More sermons and political pamphlets were printed in English than in Spanish during the first sixty years, and the total output in Anglo America was greater than that of Spanish America. But contrary to general belief the output of Mexico was more varied in nature and covered a wider range of cultural subjects. While it is true that the number of pieces printed in the English colonies during the first century exceeded that of Spanish America, the books and pamphlets are inferior from the point of view of the printer, lacking the finer finish, artistry, and beauty of those that issued from Spanish-American presses. The explanation is not hard to find. The press set up at Cambridge reflected the stern purpose of its founders and its public. Theirs was a practical outlook of service. The printed word was not to delight the eye and stimulate the imagination into pleasant revelry, rather it was to impress upon the mind the seriousness of life and cause it to reflect upon its harshness. The Spanish-American outlook was more tolerant, more appreciative of the aesthetic sense in life. A comparison of the works that came from the two presses during the first sixty years of their existence reveals the temperament of the two peoples they intended to serve.

Let us pay a fervent and reverent tribute to the men who brought to the new world the blessings of the printed word and made possible the development of our modern culture on this, the four-hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing in America.

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EN vísperas de que tengan fin los amparos del ingeniero E. K. Smoot. Alegatos, informe a la Superioridad y réplicas periodísticas del General y Lic. Luis Manuel Rojas, comisionado por el C. Procurador General de Justicia Militar para intervenir en este asunto sobre los conflictos y obstáculos que hace más de veinte años residente el Departamento de Marina (hoy de la Defensa Nacional), en el ejercicio de legítimas funciones, a causa del contratista de las obras del puerto de Manzanillo. México, Taller Autográfico, 1938, 65 pp., 22.5 x 17 cms. (Secretaría de la Defensa Nacional). (610)

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